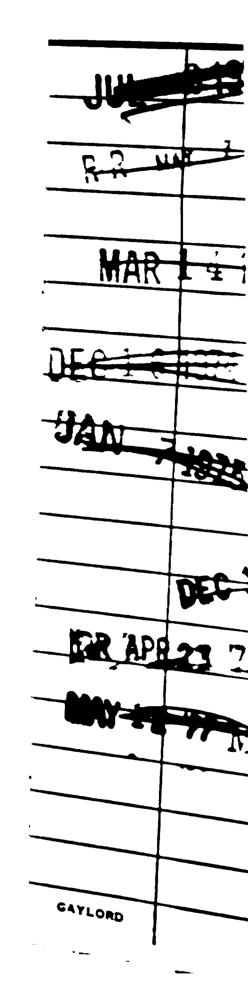



MAR 1 4
JAN
APR 23
GAYLORD


CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
3 1924 062 182 294

Studies in Philology

A Quarterly Journal Published Under the
Direction of the Philological Club
of the University of North
Carolina

VOLUME THIRTEEN

1916

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

CONTENTS

VOLUME XIII JANUARY, 1916 NUMBER 1

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL PUBLISHED UNDER THE
DIRECTION OF THE

PHILOLOGICAL CLUB OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

BAIN MEMORIAL NUMBER

Edited By

GEORGE HOWE, PH.D.
*(Professor of Latin in the
University of North Carolina)*

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

THE Philological Club of the University of North Carolina dedicates this number of its journal to the memory of Charles Wesley Bain in the hope that it may serve in some measure to express the abiding affection of his fellow-members and their appreciation of his scholarly gifts and attainments. The papers which follow are contributed by those who knew him best as a friend and had, besides, the opportunity, at one time or another, as teacher, pupil, colleague, to know his mastery and to feel his power in his chosen field of classical studies.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

A recent writer on Thucydides has headed one of his chapters The Invasion of Rhetoric. That invasion began earlier than is commonly supposed, and I still stand fast in my view that Pindar saw in the school of Sicilian rhetoricians and in the rise of epideictic literature a menace to his art. At all events rhetoric was the death of lyric poetry. The full reign of consciousness began with the accession of what one school considers the decline of pure Hellenism. Such is the doctrine preached by the followers of Hartmann, such the view adopted by the disciples of Nietzsche. As for later times there can be no question about the dominance of rhetoric, and your rhetorician cared for nothing except what brought grist to his windmill. There was Dion Chrysostomos, a man who stands far above the average rhetorician of his time. And yet when he discusses the three tragic poets, he gives the preference to Euripides—that rhetorician in verse—as best suited for rhetorical purposes. To go back to the so-called classic period, there was Cicero. The λόγιος ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλόπατρις of Augustus has recently found an equitable judge in Professor Sihler, and the immense debt the world owes to Cicero has been eloquently set forth by Zielinski; and among his debtors are the Hellenists of all the ages since. If it had not been for Cicero and men of his way of thinking, we should not have had our three great tragic poets, or should not have so much of the three great tragic poets to study, and we should have been forced to judge Greek tragic art by the Pleiad. Now if Cicero had not been so narrow a rhetorician, if he had not been too firm a believer in a vocational education, he would never have uttered the sentence attributed to him by Seneca. "Negat Cicero," says Seneca Ep. Mor. 49: "negat Cicero, si duplicetur sibi aetas, habiturum se tempus quo legat lyricos." If he had read the lyric poets there would have been flowers of another kind than those that adorn what Mommsen spitefully and unjustly calls the Sahara of his writings. There is nothing in Cicero's writings to indicate a first-hand acquaintance with the Greek lyric poets. It is true that in writing to Atticus he is tempted to show off his Greek and in Att. IX 38, 2 there is a fuller version of Pindar fr. 213, but it must have been a familiar

quotation, for it has been saved by others. His stock Pindaric quotation—he uses it three times— *ἄμπνευμα σεμνὸν Ἀλφεοῦ* may have figured in a Guidebook to Syracuse, just as Pindar's compliment to Athens still figures in Guidebooks to Greece, where it is regularly attributed to Aristophanes. Sappho, what did Cicero know of Sappho? Her effigy figures in the Verrines with their extemporized archaeology of art. Of Stesichorus he cites the well-known *οὐκ ἔτυμος λόγος*. Four of Cicero's references to the Greek lyric poets occur in the Tusculans and have doubtless been copied from his Stoic originals, for the Stoics were the most literary of the philosophic sects and quoted the poets freely. His only favorite is Simonides, and no wonder. Simonides was not only a *σοφός* but a *σοφιστής*, and Cicero has given us a translation, such as it is, of the poet's most famous epitaph—a good tag for a funeral oration. He tells at length the story which makes Simonides the inventor of a sysem of technical memory—a system so precious to the rhetorician, for memory was one of the five points of the rhetorician's art. Lyric poetry is the sap of Greek life. If Cicero seems juiceless at times, it is his own fault. His example is a testimony against all purely vocational training, and yet rhetoric in the antique sense was the least narrow of the disciplines, though often one of the shallowest.

Basil L. Gildersleeve.

The Johns Hopkins University.

NOTES ON THE GREEK PRESENT (IMPERFECT)

I.

The present indicative may be used of any extent of time, past or future, or both, provided the time of the speaker be included. *οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθές, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε/ζῇ ταῦτα*, says Antigone of the *ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν/νόμιμα* (Soph. Ant. 454 ff.), and Humphreys translates *ἀεί ποτε* "from everlasting to everlasting."

A. For the past this use of the present is illustrated in the grammars by examples of *πάλαι* and the like. Professor Gildersleeve's Syntax of Classical Greek, not oblivious of the subordinate sentence, adds examples of the *ἐξ οὗ* construction. "The English translation is often the progressive perfect" (SCG. 202), but as the English progressive perfect may be used to translate the past imperfect, past action not continued into the present, caution is necessary. So in Eur. Alc. 8 f., *ἐβουφόρβουν* and *ἔσῳζον* may be translated by the progressive perfect ("have been tending my host's kine and watching over the safety of this house until this day"), but the action, continued *ἐς τόδ' ἡμέρας*, is now over. The time has come for Apollo to leave (*λείπω*, 23), and in the elastic Greek tense system when one has decided to go, one is already on the way, and the action may even be regarded as past.[1]

Soph. El. 2f.: *νῦν ἐκεῖν' ἔξεστί σοι*
παρόντι λεύσσειν ὧν πρόθυμος ἦσθ' ἀεί,
that is, when we were in Crisa. *ἦσθ'* and *οὑπόθεις* (l. 4) are past imperfects of personal recollection. Jebb translates: "Now thou mayest behold with thine eyes all that thy soul hath desired so long." Whitelaw: "Now with thine eyes may'st thou behold all

[1] Cf. Gildersleeve-Lodge, Lat. Gram., §597, p. 385. Thucydides puts this sentence in the mouth of Pericles, 2 62, 1: *δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὃ μοι δοκεῖτε οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις· οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομπωδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ καταπεπληγμένους ὑμᾶς . . . . . ἑώρων.* And then *δηλοῖ*. Cf. Xen. An. 7, 6, 23 *ἀκούσατε ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἶπον εἰ μὴ κτλ.* Hence the "Unreal futures." Cf. Eur. Alc. 360. Alcestis is not dead, but *τῇδε . . . . . σφ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θανεῖν πέπρωται* (20 f.). Cf. Gildersleeve, A. J. P. X, 90 and especially his review of Sobolewski, A. J. P. XIII, p. 503. Soph. Antig. 755 *εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἦσθ', εἶπον ἄν σ' οὐκ εὖ φρονεῖν.* "I should have said." As you *are* my father, I shall not say. A future decided against is past and the present is prior past.

that thy heart desired." Jebb's translation includes a legitimate inference not expressed in ᾖσθ'.

For this use of the present indicative the ἐξ οὗ sentences are especially interesting, and they throw a good deal of light on the other tenses. Greek grammars, as compared with Latin, are neglectful of temporal sentences, though it is in the temporal sentence, perhaps, that the young student can most easily learn to appreciate the use of the various tenses. Antecedent action is not generally treated except, perhaps, by a brief paragraph on the pluperfect translation of the aorist indicative with ἐπειδή. Nothing is said of the overlapping imperfect. Conjunctions meaning "so long as," "while," are dismissed with a paragraph, though the most usual tenses of the indicative and subjunctive nowhere define themselves more clearly than in the contrast between the "so long as" sentences and the "until" sentences.[2] As I have nowhere found any but the most meagre treatment of the ἐξ οὗ constructions I have thought that an examination of these sentences in some detail might not be without interest.

ἐξ οὗ, and the like, of a definite occurrence in the past, regularly take the positive aorist indicative unless the action is continued into the present, in which case the positive present indicative or pos. pres. perf. indic. is used. (On the durative use of the perfect, see SCG. 203.) The main clause necessarily expresses duration. I. When the time stretches from a definite point in the past to the speaker's present, inclusive, we have the pos. or neg. pres. indic., the *neg. aor.* indic., the pos. or neg. pres. perf. indic. II. If the time extends from one point in the past to another point in the past, the ἐξ οὗ sentence takes the aor. indic., and the main sentence takes the past imperfect or pluperf. indic., or with definite numbers or the equivalent (cf. SCG. 243), the aorist (e. g., Thuc. 6, 2, 15); and sometimes one finds a sweeping pos. aor. of total negation (Dem. 18, 26).

I. a. *T(emporal sentence:) aor. indic. M(ain sentence:) pos. pres. indic.*

Il. 8, 295 f., ἐξ οὗ. M., ἐκ τοῦ δή. 9, 105 f., ἐξ ἔτι τοῦ, ὅτε. 13, 778, ἐξ οὗ. M., ἐκ τοῦδ'. Aesch. Eum. 24 f., ἐξ οὗτε. Soph. Tr.,

[2] This is the pabulum furnished by one widely-used grammar for beginners: "The context must determine between *while* (*so long as*) and *until* as translations of ἔστε and ἕως." Not a word about the tenses.

38, ἐξ οὗ. O. C., 345, ἐξ ὅτου. M., ἀεί. Eur. Hipp., 34, ἐπεί w. histor. pres. Med. 26, ἐπεί. M., τὸν πάντα χρόνον. Troad., 597, ὅτε. Ar. Eq., 4 f., ἐξ οὗ. M., ἀεί. Nub. 528, ἐξ ὅτου. M., ἐκ τούτου. Vesp. 888, ἐξ οὗ. Hdt. 3, 49, ἐπείτε. M., νῦν . . . ἀεί. Lys. 14, 4, ἐξ οὗ. M., πρῶτον . . . νυνί, pres. partic. Isocr. 12, 98, ἀφ' οὗπερ. M., ἀεὶ πράττοντας = πράττουσι. Dem. 9, 1, ἀφ' οὗ. 19, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας. M., ἀπὸ ταύτης αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὁρίζομαι = πολεμεῖ. [Lys.] 6, 30, ἐξ ὅσου. M., πάντα τὸν χρόνον.

Ar. Av. 334 f., γένος ἀνόσιον, ὅπερ ἐξότ' ἐγένετ', ἐπ' ἐμοὶ/πολέμιον ἐτράφη, from the time that they were born, they were *bred* to be our foes (and, of course, have been so ever since). ἐξότ' (which doesn't seem to occur elsewhere in classical Greek) = ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρξάμενον. If ἐξότε is quite equivalent to ἐξ οὗ, as L. & S. intimate, ἐτράφη is a "shorthand" perfect. At any rate, "the aorist produces an effect of finality akin to the perfect, of which the aorist is often the shorthand." Gildersleeve, Problems in Greek Syntax, p. 245, footnote. And πολέμιον ἐτράφη involves durative futurity.

b. *T. aor. indic. M. neg. aor. indic.*

Il. 24, 638, ἐξ οὗ. M., οὔπω. Od. 2, 27, ἐξ οὗ, M., οὔπω. 11, 168, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πρώτισθ.' M., οὔπω aor. *bis* and αἰέν w. pos. perf. 16, 142, νῦν ἐξ οὗ (ᾤχεο). M., οὔπω. o. o. aor. inf. 23, 18 f., ἐξ οὗ (ᾤχετ'). M., οὔπω. Aesch. Pers., 762, ἐξ οὔτε. M., οὐδέπω. Soph. El. 508 ff., εὖτε. M., οὔ τί πω. Ant. 12, ἐξ ὅτου. Ai. 661, ἐξ οὗ. M., οὔ πω. Ar. Pl. 85, ἐξ ὅτουπερ. Eq. 644 f., ἐξ οὗ. M., οὐ πώποτ'. Lys. 108 f., ἐξ οὗ. Hdt. 7, 8a: ἐπείτε. M., οὐδαμά κω. Thuc. 2, 73, 3, ἀφ' οὗ. M., O. O. aor. inf. In Od. 18, 180 f.,

ἀγλαΐην γὰρ ἐμοί γε θεοὶ . . . . .
ὤλεσαν, ἐξ οὗ κεῖνος ἔβη

ὤλεσαν is an aorist of total negation. I have had no thought of beauty since. Cf. Dem. 18, 26, quoted under p. below.

c. *T. aor. indic.* M. *neg. pres. indic.*

Od. 14, 379 f., ἐξ οὗ δή. Ar. Lys. 866, ἐξ οὗπερ. 758, ἐξ οὗ. Pl. 1113, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς, inf. M., οὐκ ἔτι. Xen. Mem. 2, 1, 14, ἐξ οὗ. M., οὐδεὶς ἔτι. Soph. O. T. 757 ff.:

Jo. τυγχάνει τὰ νῦν παρών;
οὐ δῆτ'· ἀφ' οὗ γὰρ κεῖθεν ἦλθε καὶ κράτη
σέ τ' εἶδ' ἔχοντα Λάιόν τ' ὀλωλότα,
—ἐξικέτευσε τῆς ἐμῆς χειρὸς θιγὼν

ἀγροὺς σφε πέμψαι κἀπὶ ποιμνίων νομάς,
ὡς πλεῖστον εἴη τοῦδ' ἄποπτος ἄστεως,
κἄπεμψ' ἐγώ νιν.

With ἀφ' οὗ the main sentence must show continuance or the negation thereof. ἐξικέτευσε is anacoluthic. With Jocasta's οὐ δῆτ', οὐδ' ἔτι πάρεστιν ἀφ' οὗ ἦλθε is in her mind. Print a dash before ἐξικέτευσε. Jebb translate ἀφ' οὗ, "as soon as."

d. *T. aor. indic. M. pos. perf. indic.*

Od. 17, 103 = 19, 596, ἐξ οὗ (ᾤχεθ'). Soph. Ant. 562, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ πρῶτ' (ἔφυ). M., O. O. perf. inf. = perf. indic. Ar. Pl. 968, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο. w. inf. (cf. 1113) 1173, ἀφ' οὗ . . . . . ἤρξατο ω. Inf. is bracketed by Von Velsen (as reported by Nicolson). Av. 322 ὦ μέγιστον ἐξαμαρτὼν ἐξ ὅτου 'τράφην ἐγώ, (supply perf. partic. w. part. gen.). 1514 f. ἐξ οὗπερ. M. ἀπόλωλεν. Xen. Mem. 3, 5, 4, ἀφ' οὗ, aor. indic. *bis*. M., ἐκ τούτων. Lys. 1, 7, ἐπειδή. M., γεγένηται. Dem. 32, 32, ἀφ' οὗ ἠρξάμην. M., συμβέβηκεν.

e. *T. aor. indic. M. neg. perf. indic.*

Xen. An. 7, 8, 4, ἐξ ὅτου. M., O. O. inf. Isocr. 3, 36, ἐξ οὗ. M. neg. φανήσομαι w. perf. particip. [Dem.] 56, 39, ἔστιν οὖν ὅποι παρέσχηκας ἐμφανῆ τὴν ναῦν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ χρήματα ἔλαβες παρ' ἡμῶν . . . . . ; (Interrog. = neg.).

f. *T. pres. indic. M. pos. pres. indic.*

Ar. Ach. 596, ἐξ ὅτουπερ. No verb expressed in either clause, and so also 597. Hdt. 3, 117, ἐπείτε. X. Cyr. 5, 3, 7, ἐξ οὗ. Isocr. 5, 57, ἐξ οὗπερ. Dem. 4, 24, ἐξ οὗ. M. νικᾷ and γεγόνασιν. 19, 215, ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ κρίσεις γίγνονται, οὐδεὶς πώποθ' ὁμολογῶν. ἀδικεῖν ἑάλω, ἀλλ' ἀναισχυντοῦσιν and four other pos. presents. 25, 42, ἀφ' οὗ. M. O. O. pres. inf. Pl. Symp. 195 C, ἐξ οὗ. M. verb omitted.

Cf. Xen. Cyr. 8, 2, 15, καὶ πόσα ἂν ἤδη οἴει μοι χρήματα εἶναι, εἰ συνέλεγον χρυσίον . . . . . ἐξ ὅτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ εἰμι;

g. *T. pres. indic. M. neg. aor. indic.*

Od. 8, 539, ἐξ οὗ δορπέομέν τε καὶ ὤρορε θεῖος ἀοιδός,
ἐκ τοῦδ' οὔπω παύσατ' ὀϊζυροῖο γόοιο

= αἰεὶ γοάει. Merry and Riddell take ὤρορε to be aorist and δορπέομεν to be the unaugmented imperfect. Soph. Ant. 1092, ἐξ ὅτου. M., μή πώποτ' O. O. aor. inf. = aor. indic. See Humphreys. Ar.

Ach. 17, ἐξ ὅτου. M., οὐδεπώποτ'. 628, ἐξ οὗ γε ἐφέστηκεν. M., οὔπω. Isocr. 12, 66. See h. Dem. 19, 215. See f. [Lys.] 6, 25, ἐξ ὅσου. M., οὐδεὶς . . . . . πω. Lucian, Dial. Deor. Mar. 15, 1, ἀφ' οὗ γε.

h. *T. pres. indic. M. pos. perf. indic.*

Hdt. 3, 117, ἐπείτε. Thuc. 3, 116, 2, ἀφ' οὗ. M., τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι. Isocr. 12, 66, πλείους Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτόνασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐξ οὗ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν εἰς ἀγῶνα καὶ κρίσιν καταστάντων. καταστάντων may be accounted (h) a shorthand perfect, SCG. 249, to balance ἀπεκτόνασι, or (g) a neg. aor. in contrast with the pos. perf., neg. after the comparative, or (i) a neg. perf. Dem. 4. 24. See f. 23, 193, ἐξ οὗ. 25, 42, ἀφ' οὗ. M., (sc. εἶδε . . . . .) γεγονός.

i. *T. pres. indic. M. neg. perf. indic.*

Isocr. 6, 7, ἐξ οὗ. M., γέγονε. 12, 66. See h.

j. *T. perf. indic. M. pos. pres. indic.*

Aesch. Pers. 177, ἀφ' οὗπερ οἴχεται. Soph. Tr. 326, ἐξ ὅτου. M., neg. aor. and pos. pres. indic. Lys. 7, 11, ἐπειδὴ ἐξήκει. Dem. 19, 215. See g. Din. 1, 111. See k.

k. *T. perf. indic. M. pos. perf. indic.*

Aeschin. 3, 134, ἐξ ὅτου προσελήλυθεν. Dem. 3, 22, ἐξ οὗ διερωτῶντες . . . πεφήνασι. Din. 1, 111, ἐξ οὗ προσελήλυθε. M., εὑρήσετε w. perf. partic., pres. partic., perf. partic.

l. *T. perf. indic. M. neg. aor. indic.*

Od. 8, 539. See g. Soph. Tr. 326. See j. Ar. Ach. 628. See g. Dem. 19, 215. See f. Pl. Hipp. Min. 364 A, ἐξ οὗ ἦργμαι w. pres. inf. M., οὔπω.

m. *T. perf. indic. M. neg. perf. indic.*

Din. 2, 15, ἐξ οὗ. M., οὐδεπώποτε. (In comparing neg. aor. indic. w. neg. perf. indic. note Plat. Meno. 71 C, οὐδ' ἄλλῳ πω ἐνέτυχον εἰδότι, of which the O. O. in 71 D is μηδενὶ πώποτε εἰδότι ἐντετυχηκέναι.

Soph. Ant. 11. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος . . . . .
12. . . . . ἵκετ' ἐξ ὅτου
13. δυοῖν ἀδελφοῖν ἐστερήθημεν δύο . .
15. ἐπεὶ δὲ φροῦδός ἐστιν Ἀργείων στρατὸς
16. ἐν νυκτὶ τῇ νῦν, οὐδὲν οἶδ' ὑπέρτερον.

Humphreys: ἐπεί: synonymous with ἐξ ὅτου in 12. Jebb: "ἐπεί temporal, 'since' (like ἐξ οὗ), as often in Her. and the poets." To my feeling ἐπεί is here causal and adversative," now that," = "although."

II. n. *T. aor. indic. M. past imperf. or pluperf.*

Soph. Ai. 1337, ἐξ οὗ. M., ἦν ποθ'. Hdt. 7, 8a; ἐπεί τε παρέλαβον τὸν θρόνον τοῦτον, ἐφρόντιζον ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν προτέρων γενομένων ἐν τιμῇ τῇδε κτλ. L. & S. ἐπεί, A. I. 2, translate: "*Ever since* I came to the throne, I had this in mind." (Is this normal English?) Translate: "From the time (when) I came to the throne, I had this in mind," or "kept pondering" (Merriam); or "ever since I came to the throne, I have pondered," but remember that the action of the imperfect does not stretch into the present; the φροντίς is ended, ended with the decision to invade Greece: διὸ ὑμέας νῦν ἐγὼ συνέλεξα, ἵνα τὸ νοέω πρήσσειν ὑπερθέωμαι ὑμῖν. μέλλω ζεύξας τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐλᾶν στρατὸν διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. (With such sentences cf. the ordinary sentences of antecedent action in which the imperfect is used in the main clause: e. g., Lys., 1, 6, 9.) Xen. An. 5, 7, 34, ἔλεγον, after making arrangements for judicial proceedings in the case of future wrongs, . . . εἶναι (= ὅτι χρὴ εἶναι) δίκας καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἠδίκητο ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε. (Rehdantz-Carnuth bracket this sentence.) Apol. 27, οὐ γὰρ πάλαι ἴστε ὅτι ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγενόμην κατεψηφισμένος ἦν μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; (the sentence is said by Radermacher, Philologus, 65, pp. 149 ff., to be a quotation from Gorgias, Palam. 1.) "Haven't you known all along that from the very day of my birth I had been condemned to death already, πρὶν τὸν θάνατον καταψηφισθῆναί μου ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων?" "I have been condemned to death ever since I was born" would require the present perfect in the main sentence. Isocr. 12, 148. See q. In the first recorded ἐξ οὗ sentence, Iliad, 1, 6

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε,

some commentators hang one thing on the ἐξ οὗ peg, some another. (1) μῆνιν οὐλομένην (e. g., Seymour); (2) Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή (Aristarchus, according to Leaf; Lang, Leaf and Myers); (3) ἄειδε (Leaf), in which case there is an ellipsis (cf. Thuc. 1, 1, 1), and (3) practically amounts to (1). In any case the action of the main sentence is past imperfect, continued from one point in the past to another.

o. *T. aor. indic. M. neg. imperf.*

Od. 8, 450 ff.

ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἀσπασίως ἴδε θυμῷ
θέρμα λοέτρ', ἐπεὶ οὔτι κομιζόμενός γε θάμιζεν,
ἐπεὶ δὴ λίπε δῶμα καλυψοῦς ἠϋκόμοιο.

"Up to this time," "until now." But Krüger, Sprchl., §69, 56, a. 2, questions this example, and it is questionable. Aesch. Ag. 1211 ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὡς τάδ' ἤμπλακον (Stahl, Syntax des griech. Verbums, p. 451, 2).

p. *T. aor. indic. M. neg. aor. indic. or pos. aor. indic. involving negation.*

Dem. 18, 26, Φιλίππῳ μὲν ἦν συμφέρον ὡς πλεῖστον τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον γενέσθαι τῶν ὅρκων, ὑμῖν δ' ὡς ἐλάχιστον. διὰ τί; ὅτι ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς ὠμόσαθ' ἡμέρας μόνον, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἧς ἠλπίσατε τὴν εἰρήνην ἔσεσθαι, πάσας ἐξελύσατε τὰς παρασκευὰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου· ὁ δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου μάλιστ' ἐπραγματεύετο. (Cf. Od. 18, 181, ὤλεσαν, quoted under b.) 60, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας. M., διεκωλύθη. (Cf. Dem. 25, 42, ἐμοὶ . . . . . δοκεῖ, ὃν . . . . . . οὐ προσήει χρόνον, ἀναπαύσασθαι τῶν κακῶν ἡ πόλις, where the imperfect is "normal" in the leading clause of a "so long as" sentence.) [Dem.] 42, 14 ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, ἀφ' ἧς ὡμολόγησεν. . . . . ἀπαντήσεσθαι . . . . . οὐδεπώποτ' ἀπήντησεν.

q. *T. aor. indic. M. aor. indic. with definite numbers, or equally complexive (unitary).*

Thuc. 6, 2, 5, ἐπεί. Isocr. 12, 148, ἀφ' οὗπερ. M., φαίνεται ὁ δῆμος ταύτῃ χρώμενος οὐκ ἔλαττω χιλίων ἐτῶν (SCG. 208), ἀλλ' ἐμμείνας . . . . . μέχρι τῆς Σόλωνος . . . . . ἡλικίας (SCG. 243). Ἀθπ. 17 Πεισίστρατος . . . . . ἀπέθανε . . . . . . ἀφ' οὗ . . . . . κατέστη τὸ πρῶτον τύραννος ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τρία βιώσας.

III. In lapses of time (cf. Gildersleeve-Lodge, Lat. Gram. §580, R. 3), (A) from a point in the past to the time of the speaker ("It is five years since he went away"), the main sentence is in the present indicative or equivalent; the temporal sentence takes the aor. indic., or, if the action extends into the time of the speaker, the pres. indic. or pres. perf. indic. ("result maintained"). B. If the lapse of time is between two points in the past ("It was in the fifth year from the time he went away"), the temporal sentence regularly takes the aor. indic.

A. r. *T. aor. indic.*

Od. 24, 309 f. ἐξ οὗ. Aesch. Ag. 40 ff., ἐπεί. Soph. Ant. 457 f. ἐξ ὅτου. Eur. El. 1278 f. ἄρτι Ναυπλίαν παρὼν/Μενέλαος, ἐξ οὗ Τρωικὴν εἷλε χθόνα. Iph. T. 258, ἐπεί. Hdt. 2, 43, ἐπεί τε. Thuc. 1, 6, 3, ἐπειδὴ . . . . . ἐπαύσαντο. 13, 3, ὅτε. Xen. An. 3, 2, 14, ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι . . . . . ἐνικᾶτε. Pl. Critias 111 C, ὅτε. The aor. indic. is involved in τμηθέντων. [Lys.] 11, 1, ἐξ οὗ. Isocr. 18, 29, ἐξ οὗ. Herodas, I, 23 (Crusius), ἐξ οὗ.

s. *T. pres. indic.*

Od. 2, 90, ἐξ οὗ. Soph. Ai. 600 ff. παλαιὸς ἀφ' οὗ χρόνος. (Jebb cites here Phil. 493, quoted below, and Isocr. 5, 47, οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ, parenthetical. In addition to these passages, A. Platt, Class. Q. V, 29, cites Plat. Critias 111 C—see r, above—Dem. 4. 3, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολύς, parenthetical, and exs. from Lucian and Julian in which the prep. and relative are omitted. Dem. 4, 3 was apparently missed by Grünewald, Die Satzparenthese bei den attischen Rednern. He cites Isocr. 5, 47, pp. 218 f. and 256. On Thuc. 1, 14, 3, ὀψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ, cf. C. D. Morris ad loc.) Phil. 493, ὃν δὴ *παλαιὸν ἐξότου (sic Jebb) δέδοικ' ἐγὼ/μή μοι βεβήκῃ. Eur. H. F., 702, ἐξ ὅτου. Hdt. 3, 44, ἀπ' οὗ. Thuc. 1, 18, 1, ἀφ' οὗ. Isocr. 12, 204, ἐξ οὗ. Dem. 22, 66, ἀφ' οὗ. 24, 173, ἀφ' οὗ.

t. *T. perf. indic.*

Il. 21, 81, ὅτε. Thuc. 1, 6, 5, ἐπειδὴ πέπαυται. Lys. 10, 4, ἐξ ὅτου . . . . . κατεληλύθατε (=[11], 1, ἐξ οὗ κατήλθετε). Dem. 19, 60, πέμπτην εἶναι ταύτην ἡμέραν ἐλογίζετ' ἀφ' οὗ γεγόνασιν αἱ σπονδαί. Spieker, Greek Prose Composition, §55, end: " 'Since' is rendered by ἐξ οὗ, ἐξ ὅτου, ἀφ' οὗ, with the indicative. The optative may be used after a past tense in oratio obliqua." I have met no such example so far.

u. *T. pres. and perf. indic.*

Pl. Symp. 172 C, ἀφ' οὗ [Dem.] 33, 4, ἀφ' οὗ (perf. and pres.).

v. *T. aor. and perf. indic.*

Il. 24, 766, ἐξ οὗ. Od. 19, 222 f., ἐξ οὗ.

w. *T. neg. aor. indic.*

Herodas, I, 10 ff. (Crusius)

ἤδη γάρ εἰσι πέντε κου δοκέω μῆνες
ἐξ οὗ σε, Γυλλίς, οὐδ' ὄναρ, μὰ τὰς Μοίρας,
πρὸς τὴν θύρην ἐλθοῦσαν εἶδέ τις ταύτην.

x. *T. neg. perf. indic.*

Lucian, Hermot. 2, *σχεδὸν εἴκοσιν ἔτη ταῦτά ἐστιν, ἀφ' οὗ σε οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦντα ἑώρακα.* See W. Headlam, Class. Rev. 18, 265 f.

y. *T. imperf. indic.*

Plat. Rep. 452 C, *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι . . . . . ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρρων, γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρᾶσθαι.* "We ourselves used to think—not so very long ago." Cf. Isocr. 5, 47 and Dem. 4, 3, cited in s, above.

B. z.

Hdt. 3, 14, *ἡμέρῃ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος.* Thuc. 3, 68, 5, *ἐπειδή.* 4, 90, 3, *ὡς.* 8, 68, 4, *ἐπειδή.* Xen. Hell. 3, 3, 2, *ἀφ' οὗ . . . . . ἔφυγε καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη.* M., *δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου.* Dem. 38, 6, *τεττάρων μὲν καὶ δέκ' ἐτῶν γεγενημένων ἀφ' οὗ τὸν πατέρ' ἡμῶν ἀφεῖσαν, εἴκοσιν δὲ καὶ δυοῖν ἀφ' οὗ τυγχάνουσιν ἐγγεγραμμένοι, ... ἔλαχον.*

Generic Sentences

IV. Stahl, Syntax des griech. Verb., 451, 1, cites Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 13, *ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἂν ἐξέλθωσι χρόνου . . . διάγουσι ὧδε*, and Plat. Ion. 534 E, *ἑρμηνεῖς εἰσι τῶν θεῶν, κατεχόμενοι ἐξ ὅτου ἂν ἕκαστος κατέχηται.* Add Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 9, *δέκα ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθωσι, κοιμῶνται . . . . . περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα.* Cf. Dem. 24, 44, *ἀφ' ἧς ἂν τεθῇ* (*ἡμέρας*). [Dem.] 42, 11, *τοῦ νόμου διαρρήδην λέγοντος τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὀμόσῃ διδόναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν.* And so 12. [Dem.] 58, 21, *τὸν νόμον, τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κελεύοντα τῆς ἡμέρας ὀφείλειν, ἀφ ἧς ἂν ὄφλῃ.* And so 49, *bis*, and 50.

V. I have not explored the field exhaustively, but I hope my collection of examples is large enough to lay down the main lines of usage. In the 147 examples that I have cited the introductory temporal words occur as follows:

ἐξ οὗ	Il. 5, Od. 12, Soph. 3, Eur. 1, Aristoph. 5, Xen. 3, Plat. 3, Lys. 2, Isocr. 6, Dem. 4, Din. 2, Herodas 2, total	48	
ἐξ οὗπερ	Aristoph.	2	
ἐξ οὗγε	Aristoph.	1	
ἐξ οὗτε	Aeschylus	2	
		53	53

ἐξ ὅτου	Soph. 6, Aristoph. 3, Xen. 2, Plat. 1, Lys. 1, Aeschin. 1, total	14	
ἐξ ὅτουπερ	Aristoph. 3, Xen. (Apol.) 1, Lys. 1, total	5	
		19	19
ἐκ . . τοῦ ὅτε	Il.	1	
ἐξότε	Aristoph.	1	
		2	2
ἀφ' οὗ	Aeschyl. 1, Soph. 3, Aristoph. 3, Hdt. 1, Thuc. 4, Xen. 5, Plat. 1, Dem. 12, total	30	
ἀφ' οὗπερ	Aeschyl. 1, Isocr. 2,	3	
ἀφ' οὗγε	Lucian	1	
		34	34
ἐπειδή	Od. 1 (?), Thuc. 4, Lys. 2, total	7	
ἐπείτε	Hdt.	6	
ἐπεί	Aesch. 1, Eur. 3, Thuc. 1, total	5	
		18	
ὅτε	Il. 1, Eur. 1, Thuc. 1, Plat. 1, total		4
εὖτε	Soph.		1
ὡς	Aesch. 1, Thuc. 1,		2
ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας	Hdt. 1, Dem. 11, total		12
ἐξ ὅσου	[Lys.] VI.		2
			147

Il. and Od. show ἐξ οὗ 17, one ἐκ . . . . . . τοῦ ὅτε, and one doubtful ἐπεὶ δή. Aesch. ἐξ οὗτε 2, ἀφ' οὗπερ 1, ἐπεί 1, ὡς 1. Soph. ἐξ ὅτου 6, ἐξ οὗ 3, ἀφ' οὗ 3, εὖτε 1. Eur. ἐπεί 3, ἐξ οὗ 1, ἐξ ὅτου 1, ὅτε 1. Aristoph. ἐξ οὗ 5, ἐξ οὗπερ 2, ἐξ οὗ γε 1, ἐξ ὅτου 3, ἐξ ὅτου περ 3, ἀφ' οὗ 3, ἐξότε 1. Hdt. ἐπείτε 6, ἀπ' οὗ 1. Thuc. ἀφ' οὗ 4, ἐπειδή 4, ἐπεί 1, ὅτε 1, ὡς 1. Xen. ἀφ' οὗ 5, ἐξ οὗ 3, ἐξ ὅτου 2, ἐξ ὅτουπερ (Apol.) 1. Plat. ἐξ οὗ 3, ἐξ ὅτου 1, ἀφ' οὗ 1, ὅτε 1. Lys. ἐπειδή 2, ἐξ οὗ 2, ἐξ ὅτου 1, ὅτουπερ 1. Isocr. ἐξ οὗ 6, ἀφ' οὗπερ 2. Aeschin. ἐξ ὅτου 1. Dem. ἀφ' οὗ 12, ἐξ οὗ 4. Din. ἐξ οὗ 2.

Kühner-Gerth's list of introd. temp. words (§556, 1, b) is: "*ἐξ οὗ, ἐξ ὅτου, ἀφ' οὗ,* and *ἐξ ὧν, ex quo,* seitdem." Thompson's list (Syntax of Attic Greek, §214): "*ἐξ οὗ, ἐξ οὗτε, ἐξ ὧν, ἀφ' οὗ, ὡς, ἐπεί, ἐπειδή*" (no *ἐξ ὅτου*). But neither of these two works gives any example of *ἐξ ὧν* and I have noted none. Liddell and Scott make no mention of the *ἐξ οὗ* meaning for *ὅτε*, or *εὖτε*, or *ὡς*. Classen on Thuc. 4, 90, 3: "*ὡς = ἐξ οὗ*, sonst nicht nachgewiesen." Stahl (451, 2) cites also Aesch. Ag. 1211 for *ὡς*, Eur. Or. 812 for *ὁπότε*, and interprets the puzzling *ὅτε* of Aristoph. Ach. 647 as = *ἐξ οὗ*.

In 89 examples in which the order was observed, the temporal clause follows in 52, precedes in 30, and is more or less interjected in 7.

B. It is needless to give many examples of *ἕως* (*ἔτι*) with the pres. indic. extending into the future (Od. 22, 106. Aristoph. Ran. 109 f. Thuc. 1, 78, 4. 3, 70, 6. 5, 9, 6. 6, 17, 1 and 49, 1 f. Xen. An. 1, 3, 11. Cyr. 3, 3, 46. Plat. Apol. 39 E. Phaedo 89 C. Parm. 135 D. Lys. 33, 8. Dem. 1, 20. 5, 35. 9, 70. 19, 262. Cf. Stahl (SGV.) 451, 4. It is remarkable that Stahl seems not to make mention of the causal connotation and Fuchs, "Die Temporalsätze mit den Konjunktionen 'bis' und 'so lange als,'" seems to have worked through most of the *ἕως* sentences from Homer to Dinarchus without observing it. See Gildersleeve, A. J. P. IV, 417, XXIV, 389, 394, 396.[3]

The present indicative may also extend into the future in a very common and practically circumlocutory type of relative sentence. Aesch. Prom. 939 f.:

δράτω, κρατείτω τόν δε τὸν βραχὺν χρόνον
ὅπως θέλει.

Plat. Phaedo 88E, *πάντα ἡμῖν δίελθε ὡς δύνασαι ἀκριβέστατα.* The verbs are chiefly *ἐθέλω, βούλομαι, δοκεῖ, δύναμαι, ἔχω,* and the like. Cf. Stahl, SGV., 344, 2; Rehdantz-Blass, Dem., Index, s. v. Praesens. Il. 4, 37, *ἔρξον ὅπως ἐθέλεις.* Od. 13, 145. Soph. Phil. 481. Thuc. 2, 72, 3. Xen Cyr. 4, 5, 2, 50. 8, 3, 46. Xen. An. 1, 3, 15. Hell. 2, 4, 37. Cf. Dem. 20, 117, *εἰ* . . . . . *τις*

[3] With Professor Gildersleeve's words in XXIV, 389: "Like all other temporal particles (SCG. §366, p. 146), the conjunction of limit, when used with the present indicative, regularly takes on a causative connotation," cf. the following note of Merry and Riddell on Od. 5, 357: "The use of the Lat. *cum* shows how a temporal conjunction can gain a causal sense even when used with a present indicative."

ἔχει δεῖξαι . . . . . συγχωρῶ, with 18, 190, ἂν νῦν ἔχῃ τις δεῖξαι . . . . . ὁμολογῶ. And cf. Dem. 57, 65, καὶ ταῦτα τοὺς εἰδότας, ἐὰν βούλησθε, καλοῦμεν, with 67, καλῶ δ' ὑμῖν τοὺς οἰκείους, εἰ βούλεσθε.

II.

Of the rare present optatives with ἕως "so long as" or "while," Professor Gildersleeve cited Plat. Theaet. 155 A in A. J. P. IV, 419, and 'Αθπ. p. 80, 8, in A. J. P. XII, 123. Fuchs added an O. O. pres. opt. from X. Hell. 5, 4, 37 (A. J. P. XXIV, 407), but Plat. Meno 97 C was not noted in the German monograph: πῶς λέγεις; ὁ ἀεὶ ἔχων ὀρθὴν δόξαν οὐκ ἂν αεὶ τυγχάνοι, ἕωσπερ ὀρθὰ δοξάζοι;

Stahl says (SGV. 454, 2): "Der generelle Optativ findet sich in durativen Temporalsätzen nicht." Fuchs winds up his treatment of Thucydides with these words (p. 88): Ausser diesen durch temporalkonjunktionen eingeleiteten Sätzen finden wir an zwei Stellen Relativsätze, welche den zeitlichen Terminus 'so lange als' angeben," and cites 2, 35, 2 and 57, 1. There are a good many others.[4] One of them is an interesting "generelle Optativ": Thuc. 7, 70, 5, ὅσον μὲν χρόνον προσφέροιτο ναῦς, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις . . . . . ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχρῶντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ προσμίξειαν κτλ.

[4] Fuchs missed Aesch. Ag. 1435; Ar. Ran. 766, with its interesting sequence, ἕως ἀφίκοιτο; Plat. Symp. 185 D, ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω, as he also missed the ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ παύσωμαι just above; Dem. 4, 37 (cf. Xen. Hell. 5, 2, 27); 25, 42. I have no doubt there are many lapses in this article besides lapses of time. I have made no systematic search for Fuchs's errors, and point out those that I have recently discovered only because his work is supposed to contain all the examples of sentences of temporal limit in classical Greek. He seems to have taken only a hop, skip and a jump through Xenophon's Hellenica, missing:

2, 2, 14 ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν.
5, 2, 20 ἐν ᾧ . . . . . ἀθροίζοιτο (O. O.).
5, 2, 27 ἐν ᾧ μέλλει.
6, 4, 17 ἕως w. pres. indic.
6, 5, 16 ἐν ὅσῳ . . . . . πορεύοιτο (O. O.).
6, 5, 39 ἐν ᾧ ἔτι εἰσίν.
7, 2, 23 ἕωσπερ w. imperf. indic.
7, 5, 4 ἐν ὅσῳ w. imperf. indic.

He also failed to note Xen. An. 1, 3, 11 ἕως w. pres. indic.

III.

That the conative element is sometimes found in the historical present (SCG. 199, [Dem.] 53, 17) is remarkable and shows the possibilities of this dramatic form of representation, for the tendency of the historical present is to concentrated action.[5] The reviewer of Goodwin's "Moods and Tenses" in the *Nation* (No. 1293) asked: "What is the objection to saying that *every* historic present may be replaced by the imperfect?" "Whatever theoretical shift the historical present may admit from aorist to imperfect, the aorist participle (with *φθάνω*) shows what the Greek conception was in any particular case," says Professor Gildersleeve (A. J. P. XII, 78). Note also the historical present with *ἐς ὅ*, "until," Hdt. 1, 98 and 6, 75; and with *πρίν*: Eur. Med. 1173; Hec. 132; Hdt. 1, 22; Thuc. 1, 132; 7. 39 (cf. A. J. P. II, 465 ff.[6]). Here the writer can make (represented) act and utterance coincide, and so the historical present is the true home of the aoristic present. Everywhere else the aoristic present is too late or too soon; too late, it becomes durative or else takes the form of an aorist indicative; too soon, it becomes future. So in Xen. An. 1, 8, 26 *ὁρῶ* is durative, but *καθορᾷ* is telescoped into an aoristic present, "descries."

Xen. Hellen. 1, 6, 16-17: *Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις . . . . . καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην . . . . . Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα.* Dakyns translates *καταφεύγει εἰς* M., "made good his escape, seeking shelter within the harbor of M." Translate simply "seeks shelter,"

[5] The most vicious concentration is seen in the "Annalistic" present, generally credited to the late Professor Lane (Morgan's Preface to Lane's Latin Grammar, 1898; Gildersleeve, A. J. P. XX, 228; Morris, A. J. P. XXV, 89; Knapp, A. J. P. XXXII, 335). Delbrück, Grundriss, II (1897), p. 263 f., after referring to the "registrierend" use of *γίγνεται, τελευτᾷ*, etc., "wie auf einem Stammbaume oder einer Herrscher liste," says: "Ich gestehe, dass ich die von Rodemeyer 67 abgewiesene Ansicht, wonach man sich in den Genealogieen [und Verzeichnissen der Herrscher und Magistrate] an diesen Präsensgebrauch gewöhnt habe, für recht wahrscheinlich halte." Rodemeyer's Dissertation, "das Präs. hist. bei Herodot. und Thukydides," Delbrück states, p. 261, was published in Basel in 1889. Whose "Ansicht" did he reject?

[6] But strike out Xen. Cyr. 4, 5, 13, cited there, p. 479.

"tries to take refuge," and this, too, is a conative historical present of a verb "perfektiviert," a syntelic compound, let us say.

In Xen. An. 1, 5, 12 ἀφιππεύει certainly has a conative connotation—the difficulties are vividly described—but the dominant note is simply durative, cursive.

See also Thuc. 7, 1, 1. A glance at the location of Rhegium and Messene will show that περαιοῦνται is an imperfect historical present, "set out to pass through the strait."

IV.

Professor Gildersleeve (SCG. 192) derives the conative use of the present from the notion of incompleteness involved in continuance. I do not take this to mean that the aoristic present played no part in the development of the conative connotation. On the contrary, if some of the examples in which the present is a practical equivalent of βούλομαι or ἐθέλω with the infin. are to be called conative, then the aoristic present which looks to the future may put in a claim for consideration. The psychological laws which forced the aoristic ("punktuell") presents of early times into the future (Brugmann, Delbrück), worked with the same effect in later times. So when Demosthenes in 18, 66, after a digression, says "I return to my question," ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐπανέρχομαι, and immediately resumes it, utterance and act cannot coincide and ἐπανέρχομαι becomes future in precisely the same way in which εἶμι became future in the old times. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 1, 2, 15, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι, with νῦν λέξομεν in 16. See Dem. 14, 22; Aeschin. 3, 57. Thetis says εἶμ' in Il. 1, 420, and repeats it and dates it in the future, 426.[7] Aeschines, 3, 56, says ἀποκρίνομαι and resumes it below, ἀποκρίνομαι δή, ὅτι κτλ. The consciousness of lapse of time between announced intention and act gives rise to the notion of continuance, incompleteness; we seem to see clearly why durative present and aoristic present coalesced so readily. The following examples are cited because they form a distinctive group: Xen. An. 5, 7, 10, παρίημι. Plat. Apol. 34 A, παραχωρῶ. Andoc. 1, 26, παραχωρῶ, ἐφίημι. Isocr. 7, 77, παραχωρῶ. 15, 100 παραχωρῶ. Aeschin. 2, 59, καταβαίνω. 183 καταβαίνω. 3, 165, παραχωρῶ. Dem. 19, 32, καταβαίνω. (Cf. 20, 49, συνεύχομαι).

[7] Monro, Hom. Gram., 1891, p. 63: "*I go* (is) now archaic in the sense of "*I am going*." It is often heard in the United States when one is speaking of the itinerary of a proposed tour.

[Dem.] 35, 43, *τούτων ὅ τι βούλεται πεισάτω ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ αὐτὸς συγχωρῶ σοφώτατον εἶναι τοῦτον, ἐὰν ὑμᾶς πείσῃ κτλ.*

"Requiritur futurum: *συγχωρήσω.*" S. A. Naber, Mnemosyne, xxxii, p. 5.

See Antiph. II (Tetr. A) *δ*. 8. Dem. 18, 190 and 270. 20, 20 and 117.

WILLIS H. BOCOCK.

The University of Georgia.

THUCYDIDES VII. 75

Interpretation and Discussion

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, ἐπειδὴ ἐδόκει τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῷ Δημοσθένει ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐγίγνετο· δεινὸν οὖν ἦν οὐ καθ' ἓν μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι τάς τε ναῦς ἀπολωλεκότες πάσας ἀπεχώρουν καὶ ἀντὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ξυνέβαινε τῇ τε ὄψει ἑκάστῳ ἀλγεινὰ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ αἰσθέσθαι. τῶν τε γὰρ νεκρῶν ἀτάφων ὄντων, ὁπότε τις ἴδοι τινὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κείμενον, ἐς λύπην μετὰ φόβου καθίστατο, καὶ οἱ ζῶντες καταλειπόμενοι τραυματίαι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς πολὺ τῶν τεθνεώτων τοῖς ζῶσι λυπηρότεροι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀθλιώτεροι. πρὸς γὰρ ἀντιβολίαν καὶ ὀλοφυρμὸν τραπόμενοι ἐς ἀπορίαν καθίστασαν, ἄγειν τε σφᾶς ἀξιοῦντες καὶ ἕνα ἕκαστον ἐπιβοώμενοι, εἴ τινά πού τις ἴδοι ἢ ἑταίρων ἢ οἰκείων, τῶν τε ξυσκήνων ἤδη ἀπιόντων ἐκκρεμαννύμενοι καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἐς ὅσον δύναιντο, εἴ τῳ δὲ προλίποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἄνευ [ὀλίγων] ἐπιθειασμῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς ὑπολειπόμενοι· ὥστε δάκρυσι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθὲν καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τοιαύτῃ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀφορμᾶσθαι, καίπερ ἐκ πολεμίας τε καὶ μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα τὰ μὲν πεπονθότας ἤδη, τὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀφανεῖ δεδιότας μὴ πάθωσι. κατήφειά τέ τις ἅμα καὶ κατάμεμψις σφῶν αὐτῶν πολλὴ ἦν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ πόλει ἐκπεπολιορκημένῃ ἐῴκεσαν ὑποφευγούσῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ οὐ σμικρᾷ· μυριάδες γὰρ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ὄχλου οὐκ ἐλάσσους τεσσάρων ἅμα ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ τούτων οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἔφερον πάντες ὅ τι τις ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος χρήσιμον, καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σιτία ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις, οἱ μὲν ἀπορίᾳ ἀκολούθων, οἱ δὲ ἀπιστίᾳ· ἀπηυτομολήκεσαν γὰρ πάλαι τε καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι παραχρῆμα. ἔφερον δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἱκανά· σῖτος γὰρ οὐκέτι ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. καὶ μὴν ἡ ἄλλη αἰκία καὶ ἡ ἰσομοιρία τῶν κακῶν, ἔχουσά τινα ὅμως τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν κούφισιν, οὐδ' ὣς ῥᾳδία ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐδοξάζετο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπὸ οἵας λαμπρότητος καὶ αὐχήματος τοῦ πρώτου ἐς οἵαν τελευτὴν καὶ ταπεινότητα ἀφῖκτο. μέγιστον γὰρ δὴ τὸ διάφορον τοῦτο Ἑλληνικῷ στρατεύματι ἐγένετο, οἷς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἄλλους δουλωσομένους ἥκειν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο μᾶλλον δεδιότας μὴ πάθωσι ξυνέβη ἀπιέναι, ἀντὶ δ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεον, πάλιν τούτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμᾶσθαι, πεζούς τε ἀντὶ ναυβατῶν πορευομένους καὶ ὁπλιτικῷ προσέχοντας μᾶλλον ἢ ναυτικῷ. ὅμως δὲ ὑπὸ μεγέθους τοῦ ἐπικρεμαμένου ἔτι κινδύνου πάντα ταῦτα αὐτοῖς οἰστὰ ἐφαίνετο.

After this, when it seemed to Nicias and Demosthenes that adequate preparation had been made, the departure of the army took place on the third day following the sea-fight. And terrible it was, not in one particular only of their circumstances, that namely, they were going away after losing all

their ships, and in place of high hopes with danger threatening themselves and their city, but also in that on the abandonment of the camp there fell to each one to see things painful to the eye and grievous to the mind. For, since the dead were unburied, whenever anybody saw anyone of his friends lying dead, he was plunged into grief mingled with fear, and those that were left behind alive, wounded and weak, far more than the dead were painful to the living, and indeed were more wretched than those that had perished. For turning to entreaty and lamentation, they caused perplexity, praying to be taken along, and calling aloud each upon any companion or kinsman whom he might see, clinging to their tent-mates as they were going away, and following after them as far as they were able, and when spirit and strength failed them falling behind, not without faint imprecations and wailings; so that the whole army was filled with grief, and in such perplexity did not easily get off, even though out of a hostile country, and not only having already endured sufferings too great for tears, but fearing also for the future what they might still have to suffer.

Dejection there was, too, and much self-condemnation. For they were like nothing else than a city forced out by siege, and secretly fleeing away, and that no small city: for of the whole multitude not less than four myriads were on the march together, and of these the rest bore whatever each could that was serviceable, while the hoplites and the horsemen, contrary to their wont, themselves carried their own food in addition to their arms, some of them through lack of attendants, others through distrust of them; for these had deserted, some long agc, but the greater part recently. And not even thus did they carry food enough; for it was no longer in the camp.

Moreover, the rest of their misery and the equal sharing of their sufferings, although having in this very participation with the many some alleviation, did not even thus seem easy, especially considering with what splendor and brilliancy they had set out and to what a humiliating end they had come. For this was indeed the very greatest reverse that had ever happened to an Hellenic host, whom it befell that after coming to enslave others they were going away in fear lest they might rather themselves suffer this, and in place of prayers and paeans with which they had sailed out they were starting back with presages quite the reverse of these, going as foot-soldiers instead of seamen, and relying upon the hoplite force rather than upon the fleet. And yet, by reason of the magnitude of the danger still impending, all these things seemed to them tolerable.

In such descriptions as this, Thucydides displays his peculiar power, rising in style at once to suit the occasion, having a grander rhythm than ordinary, appropriating words from the poets, from Homer and the Drama, borrowing from the Ionic, coining new terms. We should feel his kinship at once with Aeschylus and Pindar, even if the Scholiast had never said, *ἰστέον ὅτι εἰς τὸ κομψὸν τῆς φράσεως Αἰσχύλον καὶ Πίνδαρον ἐμιμήσατο.* He is not struggling with the language, with a material not yet fully adapted to the

purposes of prose narration. He is master of the language. He does as he pleases with his own, as a great creative genius always has the right to do. He consciously avoids at such times the ordinary language of daily life and creates for himself a great literary dialect. He coins new words, not because Attic prose is undeveloped, or because the existing prose vocabulary is poor, but because he is rich, because he is essentially a poet.

He uses rare terms and unusual forms of expression because ordinary words have traditional associations that may detract from the dignity of the subject at such a time. He uses poetical terms, because poetry alone can adequately express deep human passion and pathos, and because these words have been, in a measure, sacred to his readers from their earliest use of their great national textbook in poetry, or are associated in their minds with all that has so moved and thrilled and purified them in their own great Drama, in the Agamemnon, the Oedipus Rex, the Antigone. The effect was like borrowing great Biblical words, which everybody knows and which are consecrated by association, to describe some event of unusual moment.

Like the great Greek artist that he is, and so unlike the modern artist, he gives just enough particulars to make the picture clear and real, only so much detail as will stamp the impression indelibly, leaving all the rest to the imagination. Thucydides is a master of stern pathos, the pathos of naked awful facts expressed by a few vivid touches, by a few words fitly chosen or coined to reveal the depth and hopelessness of woe, a suffering "too great for tears," under which the heart simply sinks and despairs. Because of this, he is a great poet. And so with words freshly made and burdened with his great meaning, or others rich with old poetical associations, he paints with few but unforgetable details pictures that remain graven upon the memory forever; as, for example, in this book, the sea-fight in the Great Harbor (cc. 70, 71), the present chapter, the butchery at the river Assinarus (c. 84), the awful sufferings of the Athenian captives in the Syracusan stone-quarries (c. 87).

Mahaffy calls him "the cold Thucydides"; but he is not cold any more than Sophocles is "narrow in his sympathies"—Mahaffy again. He is stern; he is self-restrained; he is austere. He does not permit himself usually to moralize on the enormities of the

horrors he describes, because the stern and awful facts are in themselves adequate to effect not only the rousing but the purgation of the feelings.

By reason of the unapproachable faculty of the Greeks for expressive compounds, Thucydides can play upon the same stem without seeming to try to be clever and without lowering the dignity of the narration. Compare, for example, κατήφειά τις ἅμα καὶ κατάμεμψις σφῶν αὐτῶν.(15) When he speaks of the abandonment of the camp, his word is ἀπόλειψις; when the sick and wounded are left behind in the camp, the verb is καταλειπόμενοι; when the poor deserted men try to follow their tent-mates, but strength and spirit fail before they overtake them, the verb is προλίποι; when thus, with imprecations and lamentations, they are gradually getting left behind, the verb is ὑπολειπόμενοι (with Vat.).

The style may be at times overinfluenced by the rhetorical taste of the period; there may be evident even here, as sometimes elsewhere, a too conscious seeking after antitheses which become a little strained, if not artificial. But the total impression is that of simple majesty, and not of artificiality or bombast.

To discuss the language of the chapter a little more in detail: such a periphrasis as ἀνάστασις . . . . . ἐγίγνετο (2) is a common device of Thucydides to give greater weight or solemnity to his language. The phrase οὐ καθ' ἓν μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων (3)—to say nothing of the difficulty of explanation—is certainly unusual enough to attract especial attention.[1] ἀλγεινά (5), which occurs in Thucydides in all three times (ii 39. 22; 43. 28; vii. 75. 8), is in usage overwhelmingly poetical; as is also κείμενον (7), *lying dead*, which is borrowed from the constant usage of Homer and the Tragedians. The phrase ἐς λύπην μετὰ φόβου (7) at once arrests the attention by its unusualness. τραυματίας (7), *wounded*, occurs only once more in Thucydides (viii 27. 19), who has it in common, it would seem, only with Herodotus (iii 79) and the poets. Cf. Pindar frg. 244, and the name of a play cited by Aristotle (*Poet.* 14. 13) ὁ τραυματίας 'Οδυσσεύς (probably by Sophocles). Another striking instance of the avoidance of ordinary usage is ἀντιβολία (9) for ἱκετεία or ἱκεσία, which was doubtless coined for this occasion, though it occurs in a frg. of Eupolis.[2] ὀλοφυρμός is another

[1] Cf. Hdt. V. *78*.1 δηλοῖ οὐ κατ' ἓν μοῦνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ.

[2] Plato has ἀντιβόλησις, and the verb ἀντιβολέω, *entreat*, is common enough.



rare word which Thucydides employs four times (111. 67. 8; vi. 30. 13; vii. 71. 14; 75. 14), and may have coined, as he did ὀλόφυρσις (i. 143. 29; ii. 57. 22), from the epic verb ὀλοφύρομαι, which he uses also four times (ii. 34. 11; 44. 2; vi. 78. 16; vii. 30. 21). ἐπιβοώμενοι (10), *invoking*, is Ionic and poetical. The phrase ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα (12) whether taken as ordinarily explained, as equivalent to ῥώμη τοῦ σώματος, or, as Classen thinks, "force of spirit and body" (see his App. on vi. 31. 3), is certainly an unusual and striking combination; and the verb προλιπεῖν (12), *fail beforehand*, seems to occur elsewhere only in the poets. In the difficult and much discussed phrase οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων ἐπιθειασμῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς (12), ὀλίγων, if it means *faint*, as Classen explains, is poetical. ἐπιθειασμῶν, *obtestationum*, which Thucydides has only here, seems to have been coined by him, as was doubtless the verb ἐπιθειάζειν, *obtestari per deos* (ii. *75*. 1; viii. *53*.11). οἰμωγή—elsewhere in Thucydides only in vii. *71*.32—was borrowed from the poets. The construction δάκρυσι . . . . . πλησθὲν (13) is also poetical; and the touching and forceful phrase μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα (14), *too great for tears*, Thucydides borrowed probably either from Herodotus or Bacchylides. κατήφεια (15), *dejection*, he got either from Homer or the Tragic poets, while κατάμεμψις (16), *self-condemnation*, which bears it company, he doubtless coined. The use of ἀκόλουθοι (20), *attendants*, as in vi. *31*. 1, for which Thucydides elsewhere generally employs θεράποντες (iv. *16*.9; vii. *13*.9) or ὑπηρέται (iii. *70*.10; vi. *102*.10), is in keeping with the general tenor of the vocabulary of this chapter; and ἀπηυτομολήκεσαν (20), which is fresh from Thucydides' mint, is used elsewhere only by late writers.

καὶ μήν (22), which Thucydides uses "only in speeches and the more highly wrought parts of the narrative" (Marchant), reminds us of the language of the Drama, from which source αἰκία(ἀ. λ.) was borrowed. ἰσομοιρία (22) occurs in Thucydides only here and v. *69*.8, and is found nowhere else in this sense in classical Greek. Dion. H. 433 imitates the idiom, κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἰσομοιρία. κούφισις (23), *relief*, is another of Thucydides' coinages which was appropriated by Dio Cassius and Josephus. οὐδ' ὣς (23) was probably borrowed from the Epic and Ionic. In ἀπὸ οἵας . . . . . . ἐς οἵαν (24), the double οἷος, as so often in Tragedy, expresses marked contrast. αὔχημα (24) is poetical, as Krüger recognized.

[a] Cf. ἐπακολουθεῖν, l. 11; iv. *96*.19; *127*.11; *128*.10; v. *65*.23; vi. *70*.15; viii *10*.9.

ταπεινότης (25) was possibly borrowed from Herodotus (iv. *22*. 10). It occurs nowhere else in the history, as indeed the adjective ταπεινός occurs only once (ii. *61*.12). ἀντί (26) with articular infinitive occurs only once more in Thucydides (i. *69*.24), and the same construction without the article occurs also just twice in Herodotus. ἐπιφήμισμα (28), *presage, ill-omened word,* occurs only here in Thucydides, and even Bloomfield has been able to find it elsewhere only in Josephus (*Bell.* vii. *5*.1 *Ant.* xviii. 5.2) and Libanius (*Or.* p. 509). It was coined doubtless after Herodotus' use of the verb ἐπιφημίζεσθαι (iii. *124.8*). ναυβάτης (28) is τραγικώτερον, according to Pollux (i. *95*), as indeed the examples of its use prove.

To sum up then, there are in this chapter the following ἅπαξ εἰρημένα: ἀντιβολία (9), ἐκκρεμάννυσθαι (11), ἐπιθειασμός (12), κατήφεια (15), ἀπηυτομολεῖν (20), αἰκία (22), κούφισις (23), ταπεινότης (25), ἐπιφήμισμα (28). The following seem to have been coined by Thucydides: ἀντιβολία (9), ὀλοφυρμός (9), ἐπιθειασμός (12), κατάμεμψις (16), ἰσομοιρία (22), κούφισις (23), ἐπιφήμισμα (28), From poetical usage seem to have been borrowed the following: ἀλγεινά (5), κείμενος (7), ἐπιβοώμενοι (10), προλιπεῖν (12), ὀλίγος (12), οἰμωγή, (13), κατήφεια (15), αἰκία (22), αὔχημα (24), ναυβάτης (29), and the constructions δάκρυσι . . . πλησθέν (13), μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα (14), οὐδ' ὥς (23), and ἀπὸ οἵας . . . . . ἐς οἵαν (24).

A fuller discussion of three phrases is appended. οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων ἐπιθειασμῶν: the vulgate has been objected to by almost all editors. The sense that would at first sight seem to be required is *not without many imprecations*, and Valla translates *non sine multis obtestationibus ac ploratibus*. To get this sense, Arnold explains that the negative must be repeated, as if we had οὐκ ἄνευ οὐκ ὀλίγων. Classen offers an explanation which I once rejected, but am now inclined to favor. He understands ὀλίγων of "the weak, scarcely audible voice of the dying, in their last complaints and appeals to the gods." In support of this view he cites Hom. 492, φθεγξάμενος ὀλίγῃ ὀπί, and c. *44*.19, κραυγῇ οὐκ ὀλίγῃ χρώμενοι, where the meaning is evidently not *much* but *loud* crying. Possibly also in i.*73*.3 αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καταβοὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν ἡμῶν παρήλθομεν, this may be the meaning of οὐκ ὀλίγην. We may compare also ὀλιγόπνους, *scant of breath* (Hesychius) and ὀλιγόφωνος, *with little tone* (Aristid. Quintil. p. 43); also ὀλιγοδρανέων, *doing little, feeble*, (Hom. O. 246, Π, 843, X 337) ὀλιγοδρανής (Ar. *Av.* 686), ὀλιγοδρανία (Aesch. *Prom.* 548).

Not unlike in force is ἀραιά in Theocritus xiii. 59, those lovely lines of which Tennyson said, "I should be content to die if I had written anything equal to this." Heracles is seeking his love, the lost Hylas:

> τρὶς μὲν Ὕλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός·
> τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ' ἵκετο φωνά
> ἐξ ὕδατος, παρεὼν δὲ μάλα σχεδὸν εἴδετο πόρρω,

"Three times he called Hylas, as loud as his deep throat could call,
And three times the boy heard, but faint came his voice from the water,
And near though he was seemed to come from afar."

This is about the force too of *exiguam* in Vergil, *Aeneid* vi. 492. When the chief of the Danai sees the mailed hero, *pars tollere vocem exiguam*—a passage which Tennyson may have had in mind when he wrote: "And if his fellow spake, his voice was *thin*, as voices from the grave."

Cf. *Death of Oenone*,

> "Anon from out the long ravine below,
> She heard a wailing cry, that seemed at first
> Thin as the bat-like shrillings of the dead
> When driven to Hades."

Also M. Arnold, *In Utrumque Paratus*:

> "*Thin*, *thin* the pleasant human noises grow,
> And faint the city gleams."

The same general quality of voice is implied in Suetonius, *Nero* 20, *quamquam exiguae vocis et fuscae.* Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* V. 457, *Umbra. . . . . visa est . . . . . . haec exiguo murmure verba loqui.* Similar in English is the use of *small* in the following passages, i Kings *19*.12, "And after the fire a still *small* voice"; Shaks. *Mid. N. D. 1*.1, "You may speak as *small* as you will." "I'll speak in a monstrous *little* voice"; *M. W. of Windsor 1*.1, "She has brown hair and speaks *small* like a woman"; Chaucer, *Miller's Tale* i. 174, "He syngeth in his voys gentil and *smal*"; "*Lytell Geste of Robin Hode* (Child's Ballads v. 121), "He herde

the notes *smal* Of byrdes mery syngynge"; Tennyson, *The Two Voices*,

> "A still *small* voice spake unto me,
> Thou art so full of misery,
> Were it not better not to be?"

and *Quain, Med. Dict.* p. 112, "The *small* hard wiry pulse."

δάκρυσι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα πλησθέν: the use of the dative instead of genitive is a poetical construction. Cf. *Hom.* Π 373 *οἳ δὲ ἰαχῇ φόβῳ τε πάσας πλῆσαν ὁδούς*; Aesch. *Pers.* 136 *λέκτρα δ' ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ πίμπλαται δακρύμασιν*; Aesch. *Sept.* 459 *μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμενοι*; Soph. *O. T.* 779 *ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐν δείπνοις μ' ὑπερπλησθεὶς μέθῃ*; Soph. frg. 483 *πέμφιγι πλήσας ὄψιν*; Eur. *Or.* 1363, *δακρύοισι γὰρ Ἑλλάδ' ἅπασαν ἔπλησε*.

μείζω ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα, too great for tears. For other similar turns of construction in Thucydides, cf. i. *76*.17 *δικαιότεροι ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν δύναμιν γεγένηνται*; ii. 50.2 *γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς νόσου τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ*; v. *102*. 2 *ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα ἢ κατὰ τὸ διαφέρον ἑκατέρων πλῆθος*; vi. *15*.10 *ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μείζοσιν ἢ κατὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν οὐσίαν ἐχρῆτο ἔς τε τὰς ἱπποτροφίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δαπάνας*; vii. *45*.5 *ὅπλα μέντοι ἔτι πλείω ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήφθη*.

As to the passage under consideration, Bloomfield says, "For this truly elegant turn of expression more adapted to lyric poetry than the plain prose of historical narrative our author was probably indebted to a passage of Bacchylides cited by Wasse, *μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ δάκρυα*." The passage in Bacchylides, which seems to have been incorrectly quoted, was probably frg. 45 *αἰαῖ τέκος ἁμέτερον, μεῖζον ἢ πενθεῖν ἐφάνη κακόν, ἀφθέγκτοισιν ἴσον*. Cf. Hdt. iii *14*.40 *μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν*. With the sentiment may be compared Seneca's *curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent* and Shakespeare's "Light sorrows speak, great grief is dumb." So Shakespeare again (*Macbeth* iv. *3*.209),

> "Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak
> Whispers the o'erfraught heart, and bids it break."

And here Coleridge's *Dejection* naturally suggests itself,

"A grief without a pang, void, dark and drear,
A stifled, drowsy, unimpassioned grief,
Which finds no natural outlet, no relief,
In word or sigh or tear."

But exactly the Greek idiom is found in Wordsworth's *Ode on Intimations of Immortality*,

"To me the meanest flower that blows can give
Thoughts that do often lie *too deep for tears*";

and in Browning's *Colombe's Birthday*, Act IV,

"I laughed—for 'twas *past tears*—that Cleves should starve."

CHARLES FORSTER SMITH.

University of Wisconsin.

RENDERINGS OF SOME ODES OF HORACE

[Under ordinary circumstances the field of classical scholarship and the company of distinguished Grecians and Latinists, however tempting to an adventurous man of letters, would not have lured me from the labyrinth of anonymous early eighteenth century English literature, in which, for many years, I have pursued solitary wanderings. There was nothing ordinary, however, in the invitation that came to me to take part in a group of classical studies in memory and honor of Charles Wesley Bain. That was an invitation there could be no thought of declining, because it was a call to express, in some measure at least, under appropriate academic auspices, the admiration and affection I had felt for over thirty years for one of the dearest of all my friends. To think of the figure I might cut in the company I was asked to join, was to think of myself; to accept the invitation without hesitation was to think of my friend, was to think of rendering to his memory all the homage in my power.

The privilege to know Charlie Bain, as I always called him after our friendship began at the University of Virginia in the autumn of 1883, carried with it the privilege of knowing one of the few men I have ever encountered who was full to the brim with love of Greek poetry and equally full with knowledge of it. Generally—and the remark applies to other literatures as well—I have little difficulty in forming an opinion, erroneous or not, as to whether the balance tips toward learning or toward love; but in Bain's case I could never discern the slightest tipping. He was a most accomplished Latinist also, and, if my memory serves, it was Latin literature, and particularly Horace, that we most talked about when our friendship began, *consule Planco*. When years afterwards we were colleagues at Sewanee, I learned to know that his heart was, as mine was, with the Greek. If I could have been mean enough to envy him anything, I should have envied him his superb knowledge of the language and the literature of that most fascinating of peoples. In those days I was studying for special purposes the Greek elegists, and many were the talks we had about them. Unless he changed later, I am inclined to say that the centre of his intellectual life was Greek literature, and that the centre of that centre, if I may be allowed the expression, was Greek lyrical poetry. How deeply since his death I have regretted that then I did not know enough to talk with him about the consummate master of all lyric poets, Pindar!

Certainly, if I could shape this contribution to these studies—a too ambitious and formidable phrase—in accordance with my own wishes and with my conception of Bain's highest achievements and aspirations, I should choose a subject having some connection with things Greek. But alas! love and learning do not with me, as they did with him, go hand in hand. It is one thing to read almost daily in the Greek poets—the best thing I know, by the way, both for oneself and for one's students in any other literature—but it is quite another thing to write about them, especially when one's amateurishness has none of the grace of leisureliness. But when I reflect that I am still less of a Latinist, that even my modest studies in the mediæval Latin elegists and in Milton's Latin poetry and prose lie years behind my present occupations, I am left wondering what I am to do in order to live up to the engagements so reverently made.

There is but one way in which I can answer this question. Ever since I astonished—I think that is the right word—my teacher, Mr. Thomas H. Norwood, principal of the University School in Richmond—to whom my grateful homage with a not required version in rhyme of the *Maecenas atavis*—this to me momentous occurrence must have taken place in the autumn of 1879—I have been dabbling in the pleasant brook, or sinking deeper and deeper into the quicksands of Horatian translation. As I have said, I talked Horace with Bain in the autumn of 1883, and in that same autumn I bought a copy of Macleane's *Horace* in "Harper's Greek and Latin Texts," which I have thumbed over since, though mainly in the early odes, often in the vain endeavor to turn some stanza or entire poem into adequate English verse. At some time or other I essayed on a fly-leaf to list the "Odes in which Horace reaches a first-class level." What better evidence could one want of the youthfulness of the owner? Quite probably the matter was seriously threshed out with Charlie in his or my room on West Lawn! There is also a quotation from Shelley on another fly-leaf—"Poetry redeems from decay the visitations of the divinity in man." The handwriting seems to date from a later period, but whatever its date, and however youthful the practice of so adorning fly-leaves may be, the spirit of that quotation from Shelley is, if life has taught me anything, of perennial validity. I am sure that Bain would have agreed with me in this, and that he would also have been willing to apply Shelley's words to Horace, despite the people who are superfluously kind enough to assure us that the writer of the Odes was no great poet

However all this may be, I shall never cease to be grateful to Bain for the interest he showed in some versions of selected odes which I was rash enough to publish in the *Sewanee Review* for November, 1894, along with a prose introduction on the difficulties of Horatian translation and on the methods of translators. Quite probably he helped me by his counsel—for he was then at Sewanee—when I revised this introduction and published it in my first book of essays. At any rate, we once more talked Horace at that period, and, if the fates had permitted us again to meet in the flesh, he would have displayed the same courteous interest, the same exquisite sympathy, in his attitude toward the versions I have since attempted and toward the critical remarks on my favorite poet I have since ventured to print. If I can be sure of anything, I am sure that his spirit, if it takes cognizance of small happenings in "this dim spot Which men call Earth," approves at least the form this tribute assumes, and looks with benignity upon the present renderings, which have been copied from scraps of paper, some of them beginning to grow yellow, revised in moments of leisure, written out afresh with loving care, and finally brought together as a mourning sheaf to his ever precious memory. W. P. T.]

Three of the versions that follow are revisions; the rest have not previously been printed. The versions of 1894, as well as the prose remarks and a translation of an ode contributed to the *Bibliophile Horace*, were undertaken in the light of at least a fair acquaintance with the work of the English and American translators of Horace. My studies in this work lie now twenty years behind me, however,

and I have used in connection with the present renderings only the Latin text and two prose translations, one English, one French. Should any resemblances to the verse renderings of others be discovered, they must be regarded as fortuitous.

I. i.

Maecenas, offspring of a regal line,
O thou, my safe-guard, and sweet-honor mine,
To gather dust Olympic with the car
Some pleases, and the goal not scapèd far
By glowing wheels, and palm, the meed of worth.
Mounts up unto the gods, the lords of earth,
This wight, if fickle mob of Romans vie
With threefold honors him to lift on high;
That yonder, if in his own barn he stores
Whate'er is swept from Libyan threshing-floors.
Him that delights ancestral fields to plow
Never with Attalus' proffered wealth couldst thou
Persuade with Cyprian keel his way to steer,
A timid sailor, on the Myrtoan mere.
The merchant, fearing Afric's winds at strife
With waves Icarian, praises country life
And city ease; but soon, untrained to bear
Want's burdens, doth his shattered craft repair.
Here's one that spurns not cups of Massic old,
And from the solid day a part makes bold
To filch, his limbs 'neath green arbutus spread,
Or now beside a sacred water's head.
Many the camp delights, and mixèd sound
Of the two trumps, and wars, by mothers found
Detestable. Bides under the frore sky
The hunter, thoughts of tender spouse put by,
Whether the stag by faithful dogs is seen,
Or Marsian boar firm nets hath broken clean.
Me ivy-meeds that learned brows enfold
Mix with the upper gods. Me forest cold
And dances light, of Nymphs with Satyrs, set
Far from the people, if Euterpe yet
Forbid not pipes, nor Polyhymnia shun

To tender me the Lesbian barbiton.
For, if with lyric bards thou place me now,
I'll strike the stars with my exalted brow.

I. ii.

Enough now to the earth of snow and dread
Hail hath the Father sent, and with his red
Right hand the hallowed turrets bringing down,
  Affrighted hath the town.

Frighted the nations lest the age severe
Of portent waiting Pyrrha reappear,
When Proteus led his flock entire to seek
  The lofty mountain peak,

And in the elm-top, once a resting place
Well known to doves, stuck fast the finny race,
And in the ocean, poured out far and wide,
  The does swam terrified.

We've seen the tawny Tiber violent,
With waves from shore Etruscan backward bent,
The monuments of the king to overthrow,
  And Vesta's temples, flow—

What time to Ilia far too querulous
He boasts him champion, the uxorious
River at large o'er the left bank slips down,
  Jove hiding not his frown.

They'll hear that citizens have sharpened swords
Wherewith had better perished Persian hordes,
They'll hear, our youth—sparse through parental sin—
  Of civil strife the din.

What god now shall the people sue to bear
Help to the falling empire? With what prayer
Shall holy virgins Vesta's patience tease,
  Whom now their songs less please?

On whom will Jupiter the mission lay
Of wiping out the crime? At length, we pray,
Come, O Apollo Augur, clad with white
  Mist on thy shoulders bright.

Or else thou, Erycina, smiling bland,
Round whom fly Jests and Loves, a frolic band,
Or, Founder, on neglected sons and race,
  Turning a gracious face,—

Whom satiate, alas! with sport drawn out,
Smooth helmets gratify, and battle shout,
And savage face that Moor unhorsed doth show
  His ruthless, bloodstained foe.

Or thou, a comely youth presenting here
On earth, thy figure changed, winged son of dear
Maia, not loth to be of Cæsar's fate
  Called the avenger great.

Slow mayst thou into heaven return, and long
Glad mayst thou mingle with the Roman throng,
Nor thee, disgusted with our vices, may
  Too sudden gale away

Transport. Here triumphs great be thy desire
Rather, and to be hailed our prince and sire,
Nor unchastisèd Medes to prance allow,
  Cæsar, our leader thou!

I. iii.

So may the Cyprian goddess-queen,
So Helen's brothers, stars of lucid sheen,
Keep thee, and so the sire of winds,
If all beside Iäpyx fair he binds,—
Ship, that to Attic shores dost owe
The Vergil we in trust on thee bestow;
Return him, all unspent and whole,
And save, I pray, the half of my own soul.
He oak and triple brass did graft
Upon his bosom who a fragile raft
Committed to the savage deep
First, nor felt fear of Afric's headlong sweep
Against Aquilo, nor of sad
Hyades nor of Notus raging mad,—
Than whom no greater master knows
The Hadrian waves to ruffle or compose.

What step of death had he in awe
Who with dry eyes the swimming monsters saw,
And viewed the turgid sea, and high
Acroceraunian cliffs of infamy?
The prudent deity in vain
Cut off the lands from the unsocial main,
If impious ships yet far and wide
May over gulfs forfended safely glide.
O'erbold all things to undertake
The race of man through crime forbid doth break;
O'erbold the race Iäpetan
By evil fraud brought fire from heaven to man.
When from its aëry home the flame
Was filched, a brooding troop of fevers came,
And wasting sickness, on the land;
And slow necessity put forth a hand
To speed Death's step, before removed.
The empty aether Daedalus once proved
With wings that never man might don.
Herculean labor broke through Acheron.
We mortals are for naught too weak;
Heaven's very self in folly do we seek,
Nor suffer, through our crime and pride,
High Jove his angry bolts to put aside.

I. vi.

Thou shalt be sung by Varius, bird of song
Homeric, victor over foes and strong,
Whate'er with ship or horse our soldiery
Fierce hath accomplished under thee.

Those feats to sing, Agrippa, or the hot
Rage of the son of Peleus, knowing not
To yield, or sly Ulysses' course pursued
By sea, or Pelops' household rude

We try not, weak for themes so grand, while shame,
And Muse that to the peaceful lyre lays claim,
Forbid egregious Cæsar's meeds to stain,
And thine, through fault of this poor brain.

Who Mars in adamantine vest could limn
In fashion fit, or Meriones grim
With dust of Troy, or to the gods of light
Tydides peer, through Pallas' might?

But we of feasts, of fights that virgins wage,
With parèd nails, 'gainst youths in mimic rage,
Sing fancy-free, or, if at all we flame,
Our lightsome mood is still the same.

I. xi.

Thou must not ask—to know were evil—what end to me, to thee,
The gods, Leuconöe, have given, nor shouldst thou trial make
Of Babylonian numbers. Better to bide whate'er shall be,
Whether more winters Jove hath lotted, or this, which now doth break
The Tuscan sea on rocks opposing, shall give us as our last.
Be prudent, set thy wines to filter, and be thy long hope brought
Within thy life's exiguous measure. For, while we speak, flies past
Begrudging time; today ingather, tomorrow trusting naught.

I. xxiv.

What bounds to longing for a head so dear,
What shame should be? Oh, teach me measures grave,
Melpomene, to whom a liquid clear
Voice the Father with the cither gave.

Lo! a perpetual lethargy doth hold
Quinctilius! And when shall Modesty,
And Justice's sister Faith, not bought and sold,
And naked truth his equal ever see?

By many good men wept, he is brought low,
By none more wept, O Vergil, than by thee,
Who of the gods him—ah, not granted so—
Vainly dost ask, despite thy piety.

What though the string erst by the trees obeyed
Thou strike, than Thracian Orpheus more bland,
The blood will not reënter the frail shade,
When once, with contact of his dreadful wand,

Mercury, not prompt to change for prayer
The Fates, has forced it into his black throng.
Harsh lot! But patience makes less hard to bear
That which to alter would be counted wrong.

I. xxx.

O Venus, Gnidian, Paphian Queen,
Loved Cyprus spurn, and to the halls
Where with much incense Glycera calls
  Betake thyself to dwell.

And with thee let the fervid Boy,
Graces loose-zoned, and Nymphs repair,
And youth, without thee far from fair,
  And Mercury as well.

II. vi.

Septimius, ready my way to share
To Gades and the Cantabrian, taught to bear
Not yet our yoke, and to the Syrtes where
  The moorish billow boils,—

May Tibur, by the Argive founded, be
In my old age the resting place for me,
The goal for one that wearies of the sea,
  Travel, and martial toils!

Whence, if the grudging Parcae me expel,
I'll seek Galaesus, stream sweet to the fell
Of sheep, and regions where in state did dwell
  Phalanthus, Spartan-bred.

For me that nook, of all, doth smile most fair,
Whose honey with Hymettus' may compare,
Whose olive with green Venafrum's well may bear
  The contest without dread;

Where Jupiter a lingering spring doth send
And winters mild, and Aulon's valley, friend
To fertile Bacchus, little grudge doth spend
  On the Falernian vine.

That region and those happy heights now sue
For thee and me; there, with the teardrops due,
Scattering his still warm ashes thou shalt rue
  This poet-friend of thine.

II. ix.

Not always from the clouds do rains descend
On the rough fields; nor is the Caspian Mere
By shifting tempests vexed, O Valgius friend,
  Forever; nor amid the drear

Armenian wilds doth ice the months throughout
Inert abide; nor with Aquilo's blare
For aye do oaks Garganan labor stout,
  Nor ash-trees of their leaves stand bare.

Thou alway in thy tearful strains dost cry
For Mystes taken hence; nor yet from thee
Departs thy love when Vesper mounteth high,
  Or from the rapid sun doth flee.

But not for his belovèd Antilochus
Mourned the thrice-agèd sire through all the years;
Nor parents for the beardless Troilus,
  Nor Phrygian sisters, went in tears

Unceasing. Then do thou remit at length
Thy soft complaints, and let us rather sound
Praise of the trophies of Augustus' strength,
  Yea, and Niphates' peak snow-crowned,

And the Medes' river, that, to realms subdued
Added, rolls onward its diminished tide,
And in their narrow fields, prescribed, the rude
  Gelonian horsemen doomed to ride.

W. P. Trent.

Columbia University.

A STUDY OF NONNUS

Perhaps there is no other Greek poet in whose case the extremes of praise and condemnation have been further apart than have been the estimates of Nonnus, the author of the *Dionysiaca*. His first editor, Gerard Falkenburg (1569), ranked him with Homer, to Angelo Poliziano and Johannes Lascaris he was *poeta mirificus*, and of late von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who ranks his disciple Musaeus very low, calls Nonnus the last Greek artist in style.

By English-speaking scholarship Nonnus has always been ranked very low. Marlowe paraphrased Musaeus in his *Hero and Leander*, following J. C. Scaliger's identification of the sixth century grammarian with the mythical Musaeus, but neither he nor any other Englishman seems to have studied Nonnus. At least Ludwich's bibliography mentions only Porson, Musgrave, Wakefield, Northmor and Pierson, of whom Porson has one or two emendations in his *Adversaria*, and Musgrave drew on Nonnus for the discussion of one verse in Euripides. J. A. Symonds devotes seventeen pages to Musaeus in his Greek Poets, but for all his liking for the "wonderful colors of decay," the "autumnal loveliness of literature upon the wane," he never mentions Nonnus. Donaldson's continuation of K. O. Müller gives an analysis of Quintus Smyrnaeus book by book, but while he has plentiful scorn for the formlessness of Nonnus' epic, and rather patronizes Marcellus, Nonnus' French editor and translator (Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1856), for asserting he has a plan for those who will read him, Donaldson gives no idea of what Nonnus' contents are. Of the shorter books in English, Gilbert Murray discusses only his metre, and Wilmer Cave Wright, who devotes more attention to Nonnus than most, assigns to his work of 21,088 lines just half the space she grants the 343 hexameters of his disciple Musaeus. It would be absurd to set up a quantitative measurement of poetry, and Musaeus is certainly free from many gross vices of style under which Nonnus labors, yet on the other hand it is at least disproportionate to fob off the founder of a whole influential school of poets with no more mention than is vouchsafed his meagre imitators Tryphiodorus and Coluthus.

Nonnus is known to have been a native of Panopolis not only from the testimony of Agathias of Myrina (IV, 23, p. 257) and the

Violarium of Eudocia, but since 1907 on the authority of the Berlin papyrus (P. 10507) of about the seventh century, fragments of a few lines luckily including the title of the fourteenth book. That the author was an Egyptian is plain from a passage in the poem 26.238 where he speaks of the hippopotamus

οἷος ἐμοῦ Νείλοιο θερειγενὲς οἶδμα χαράσσων.

That he wrote in Alexandria is evident from an anonymous epigram, (Anthol. Palat IX, 198)

Νόννος ἐγώ· Πανὸς μὲν ἐμὴ πόλις, ἐν Φαρίῃ δὲ
ἔγχεϊ φωνήεντι γονὰς ἤμησα Γιγάντων,

which is itself derived from Book I, 13-14 where the poet says in his invocation,

ἀλλὰ χοροῦ ψαύοντα Φάρῳ παρὰ γείτονι νήσῳ
στήσατέ μοι Πρωτῆα πολύτροπον κτλ.

His date is much harder to set. Ludwich, the editor of the splendid 1909 Teubner edition, fixes his *floruit* between 390 A. D., when Gregory of Nazianzus (whose mother's name was Nonna) wrote the poems which Nonnus imitated, and 405, when Eunapius published his Lives of the Sophists, in which (p. 92) he makes a statement which Ludwich interprets as referring especially to Nonnus. The words are, "*ἐπὶ τά γε κατὰ ῥητορικὴν ἐξαρκεῖ τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἦν Αἰγύπτιος. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος ἐπὶ ποιητικῇ μὲν σφόδρα μαίνονται· ὁ δὲ σπουδαῖος Ἑρμῆς αὐτῶν ἀποκεχώρηκεν.*" The reference to the taste of the Egyptians for poetry certainly alludes to such qualities as distinguish Nonnus, but as a dating point it still leaves much to be desired. Suidas gives the *floruit* of Coluthus as between 491-519. Musaeus seems to have been the correspondent of Procopius of Gaza, who died in 520. Agathias, who wrote his history after 554, refers to Nonnus by name as one of *οἱ νέοι ποιηταί* as opposed to *οἱ πρότερον*. This means nothing more exact than "modern" as against "early" poets, and must not be pressed. The importance in the poem of Tyre and Berytus, each of which has a special panegyric devoted to it, that of Berytus being particularly minute in its geographical details, and alluding at great length to the law school of Berytus, may furnish some day a surer ground for dating than the vague reference of Eunapius to Egypt.

The chief interest Nonnus will always have is not so much literary as historical—he is an example on a gigantic scale of the confusion of styles in literature and the syncretism in religion

which mark the later Roman Empire. At the same time Nonnus was not at all entirely destitute of poetic inspiration—his merits however, whatever comparisons the Renaissance drew between him and Homer, are quite invisible to any modern reader who applies a Homeric standard to him. So far from its being Nonnus' intention to reproduce the Homeric atmosphere as Quintus Smyrnaeus endeavored to do, he seems to have been far less an archaizer than a most audacious modernist. The purists of his time must have been shocked at his introduction of such "barbarous" themes as

υἷες Αὐσονίων, ὑπατήια φέγγεα Ῥώμης[1]

into a Greek epic, and equally by his mention of Augustus,[2] and the picture of Hermes carrying a Λατινίδα δέλτον.[3] In religion, as we shall see, he was as much a syncretist as Proclus—in one elaborate passage, which reproduces the form of an Orphic hymn, the Tyrian Heracles Astrochiton is identified with Helios, Belus, Ammon, Apis, Arabian Kronos, Assyrian Zeus, Sarapis Zeus of Egypt, Phaethon, Mithras the Babylonian Hélios who in Greece is Phoebus Apollo, Gamos, the son of Eros, Paieon the slayer of pain, and finally Aether!

Indeed, Nonnus can be rightly appreciated only if we realize that he was a sophist of a school not far removed from that of Heliodorus, Achilles Tatius, and Longus. He was a sophist for sophistic was the only living style of his age. His aim was evidently to reproduce the beauties of Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Callimachus, Theocritus and the bucolic school, including especially the author of the Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος and the pastoral Anthologists, such didactic poets as Oppian of Apamea and the so-called Orphic poets, the epideictic rhetors, and not least perhaps the prose romancers, in a continuous poem with a plot elastic enough to allow the insertion of anything. Callimachus' famous "μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν" could not be allowed to daunt him if he was to satisfy the taste of his age with its insatiable appetite for words.

It is not attempted in this paper to discuss the sources of the vast congeries of stories worked by Nonnus into his ποικίλον ὕμνον.[4] This a mere essay at determining what the *Dionysiaca* is, and how Nonnus uses his material.

The form of his poem was dictated by the strictest convention—

[1] 41.366.
[2] 41.381.
[3] 41.160.
[4] I, 15.

the deeds of gods and heroes must be recited in hexameters, which was the same thing as to say the poet must be Homeric. Great innovator in verse-form and vocabulary as he was, Nonnus yet felt himself one of the Ὁμηρίδαι so much as any poet of the old type. Indeed not content with making tacit declaration of this by countless reproductions of Homeric language and ideas, or even by open reference by name to characters and scenes of the Iliad[5] and Odyssey,[6] he is inspired by the Ὁμηρίδες Μοῦσαι,[7] bears himself "the shield and spear of Father Homer,"[8] hopes to hear in battle "the ceaseless blast of Homer's learned trump,"[9] and prays to "Meles's all-splendid son"[10] that his "book coeval with the dawn" may be gracious. It is at the beginning of the twenty-fifth book that this consciousness of having Homer's eye upon him, so to speak, becomes especially acute, and it is here that he announces that in imitation of Homer he will describe only the last of the seven years of the war against the Indians.[11] It is worth noting that Quintus Smyrnaeus never refers to Homer by name in the *Posthomerica*.

A bare outline of the books follows, by which it is easy to see that the poem divides itself into six octads of which the first and last have nothing to do with the Indian war.

I

1. Rape of Europa. Cadmus seeks her and meets Zeus who is seeking his thunderbolts stolen by Typhon.
2. Cadmus helps Zeus defeat Typhon's attack on heaven and is promised Harmonia for bride.
3. Cadmus sails to Samothrace to woo Harmonia.
4. Unwilling Harmonia is persuaded by Aphrodite. Cadmus slays dragon, and men born of his teeth.
5. Cadmus builds Thebes. His sons Aristaeus, inventor of bee-keeping, and Actaeon.
6. Zeus loves Persephone. Birth of Dionysus Zagreus. He is slain by Titans. Zeus afflicts earth with fire and deluge.
7. Aeon, Mithraic god of time, begs Zeus to restore joy to the world. Zeus promises to do so. Eros fires Zeus with love of Semele.
8. Zeus lies with Semele; Hera jealous. Dionysus born.

[5] Achilles and Lycaon 22.380-3; Glaucus and Diomede 15.165; Simois, Scamander, Achilles 23.221.

[6] Odysseus and Iphigeneia 13. 109-10; Proteus and Eidothea I, 14.37.

[7] 32.184.

[8] 25.265.

[9] 25.269.

[10] 25.253.

[11] 25.8.

II

9. Dionysus nursed by nymphs, Ino, Mystis, and Rhea. Ino driven by Hera to wander.

10. Ino and Melicertes and mad Athamas. Young Dionysus loves Ampelus.

11. Ampelus slain by a bull. Dionysus consoled by Eros and comforted with story of Calamus and Carpus.

12. The Hours read of the coming Vine on the tablets of Harmonia.

13. Zeus sends Dionysus against the Indians. Catalog of Dionysus' army.

14. Rhea marshals the gods on Dionysus' side.

15. Dionysus defeats the Indians by making them drink of a river turned to wine. The nymph Nicaea and Hymnus the shepherd who dies for love of her and by her hand.

16. Eros punishes Nicaea. She drinks wine, sleeps, is found by Bacchus, and bears him Telete.

III

17. March continued. Brongus the shepherd entertains Dionysus in his hut and is rewarded with wine. Orontes, general of the Indians, kills himself in despair. Aristæus the leech. Blemys, ancestor of Blemyes, submits to Dionysus.

18. Dionysus in Assyria entertained by King Staphylus, Queen Methe and Prince Botrys, sends defiance to Deriades, king of Indians.

19. Games for funeral of King Staphylus—contest between Erechtheus and Oeagrus in song, and Maron and Silenus in pantomimic dance.

20. Dionysus renews war. Lycurgus of Arabia pursues him into the sea.

21. The Nymph Ambrosia, turned into vine, binds Lycurgus. Deriades returns defiance to Dionysus, and divides his army on the Hydaspes, himself and Thureus generals.

22. Revels of Dionysus' Bacchanals by the Hydaspes. The battle by the River. Oeagrus, Aeacus, Erechtheus champions in Dionysus' army.

23. Dionysus defeats Thureus' army, Thureus only left alive. Hera rouses Hydaspes to fight Dionysus. Dionysus fights Hydaspes with fire.

24. Hydaspes prays for mercy. Gods help Dionysus. Deriades retreats into city on news from Thureus. Indians weep for the dead. Bacchanals feast. Leucus of Lesbos sings of Aphrodite at the Loom.

IV

25. Army of Deriades stays six years in the city. The poet will be very Homeric and sing only last year—the seventh. Comparison of Dionysus with other mythological heroes. After ten months Attis prophesies victory in the seventh year and brings Dionysus from Rhea a shield made by Hephaestus—shield described.

26. Athena in guise of Orontes in a dream rouses Deriades to battle. Deriades marshals his forces. Catalog of his army and wonders of India.

27. Speeches of Deriades and Orontes to armies, speech of Zeus to gods urging them to take sides.

28. Corymbasus and Athenaeus doughty warriors. Deeds of the Cyclopes.

29. Hymenaeus wounded and healed by Dionysus. The battle a drawn one. Rhea lures Ares from the field by a dream.

30. Morrheus, son-in-law of Deriades, *ἀριστεύει*. Death of Tectaphus, who had once been suckled by his own daughter. Hera helps Deriades, Dionysus flees. Is encouraged by Athena.

31. Hera stirs jealousy of Persephone, begs sleep of Hypnus, borrows cestus of Aphrodite.

32. Hera puts Zeus to sleep, sends Erinys to madden Dionysus. Dionysus' army defeated.

V

33. Morrheus loves Chalcomeda. Eros and Hymenaeus at cottabos-game.

34. Morrheus neglects his wife, dreams Chalcomeda loves him, captures all the Maenads.

35. Maenads in the city. Chalcomeda deceives Morrheus and flouts him. Hermes delivers the Maenads. Zeus wakes and Dionysus is restored to sanity.

36. Battle of the gods. Metamorphoses of Dionysus in battle with Deriades. Dionysus builds ships. Three months truce to bury the dead.

37. Games for Opheltes. Chariot-races, boxing, wrestling, footrace, discus, archery.

38. Eclipse of Sun, and other portents. Hermes comforts Dionysus and tells him story of fall of Phaethon.

39. Sea-fight. Victory for Dionysus by fire-ships. Deriades retreats.

40. Dionysus slays Deriades in single combat by aid of Athena. Lamentations for Deriades. Dionysus' army returns from Orient with spoils. Dionysus visits Tyre and temple of Heracles Astrochiton. Legend of founding Tyre, and invention of navigation.

VI

41. Panegyric of Berytus. Dionysus on Lebanon. Founding of Berytus. House of Harmonia. Prophecy of *Law School* of Berytus.

42. Dionysus and Poseidon woo Beroe (Berytus).

43. They fight, and Poseidon wins the nymph.

44. Pentheus defies Dionysus.

45. The Bacchanals. Dionysus a prisoner. Teiresias tells Pentheus the story of Dionysus and pirates.

46. Agave slays Pentheus. Lament of Agave and Autonoe.

47. Tale of Icarius and Erigone and her dog. Strife between Perseus and Dionysus.

48. War with the giants. Dionysus wrestles with Pallene and wins her. His pursuit and conquest of Aura and her sad end. Birth of Iacchus. Crown of Ariadne. Dionysus among the gods.

On examination of this outline of books it is evident that there is a double division of the contents and the two divisions do not

mutually exclude each other—one a division into six octads or groups of eight books each, and the other according to subject matter, i. e., those books from the thirteenth to the fortieth inclusive which deal with the Indian expedition, and those which do not. The division into octads is plainly marked thus: 1st, eight books up to birth of Dionysus. 2nd, eight books through first victory over Indians and connected episode of Nicaea. 3rd, eight books through victory over Deriades' main army and the Hydaspes. 4th, eight books down to madness and defeat of Dionysus. 5th, eight books down to defeat and death of Deriades and the victorious return of Dionysus from the Orient with sojourn in Tyre. 6th, eight books to entrance of Dionysus into heaven. The number 48 of course =Iliad+Odyssey.

The Indian war begins inside one octad, and really ends inside another, for the death of Deriades by no means ends book forty. By all the conventions of Greek epic, the scheme of an Iliad was prescribed for a poem which treated of a mythological war, and Nonnus was, of course, glad to avail himself of such a device, which gave him at least the advantage of a pattern to follow, in his attempt to bring the weltering riot of his tropical fancies to some semblance of order. To such a *vitiorum suorum amator* as he, this was invaluable. The Indian war extends over parts of books thirteen to forty inclusive=twenty-eight books, only four more than the compass of an Iliad, and as it happens, of these twenty-eight, four whole books (sixteenth Nicaea episode, nineteenth *ἆθλα ἐπὶ Σταφύλῳ*, thirty-third Morrheus and Chalcomeda episode, thirty-eighth Phaethon's fall) and great parts of many others have nothing to do with the Indian war. Accordingly, there are left just twenty-four books over which Nonnus threw the very external and artificial device of an Iliad, an arrangement perfectly obvious, but mostly created by violence. There is a *κατάλογος* of Dionysus' army at the beginning, and another *κατάλογος* of Deriades' army in the middle of this *Ἰνδικά*, a series of *ἀριστεῖαι* of prominent warriors on each side, a *κόλος μάχη*, more than one *μάχη παραποτάμιος*, a *Διὸς ἀπάτη* in full form, a *ὁπλοποιία*, a *θεομαχία*, *ἆθλα ἐπὶ Ὀφέλτῃ*, a *Διονύσου μανία* (=*μῆνις Ἀχιλλέως*?) a *ναυμαχία* (if not a *μάχη ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσίν*), a *Δηριάδου ἀναίρεσις* modelled minutely after the *Ἕκτορος ἀναίρεσις*. As for real connection of these motives with the individual events, there is none—the *Ἰνδικά* was, of course, founded really on the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the whole

course of the war as Nonnus pictures it to himself (if he pictured it at all) is a series of confusions between the campaign of an invader who attacks a country by land and sea in the style of the Hellenistic kings (with one apparently Roman touch, the χελώνη[12] or *testudo* formation) and the mere outside reminiscences of the siege of Troy, both these two distinct elements being plentifully interspersed with other elements that fit in with neither. The complete breakdown of the two main lines of motive is seen at the end, where the victory of Dionysus' army over the Indians is won in a quite unlocated sea fight, and at the same time Dionysus is provided by Rhea with a suit of armor, or at least a magic shield, which enables him to conquer Deriades. To the influence of the histories of Alexander's campaign we owe Nonnus' introduction of military devices which are quite incapable of being harmonized with a story of the deeds of a motley array of Bacchæ, Sileni, Satyrs, Centaurs, Cyclopes and Pans mounted on bears, lions, tigers and bulls.[13] Such modern touches are, a spy in the enemy's camp,[14] the use of fireships,[15] complicated single combats between horseman and footman,[16] the combat of horse against horse,[17] and the struggles of infantry against "elephants endorsed with towers."[18] Of course, there is a plentiful interspersion of remarkable wounds and bizarre shapes of death, contorted bodies of the slain,[19] and severed arms and hands which still wriggle and quiver on the bloody ground[20]—an old Homeric motive. In general the real historic conditions of warfare are reflected—as when Orontes, the commander of Deriades' mobile army, first receives the brunt of Dionysus' invasion and on the defeat of Orontes, Deriades divides the home army on the Hydaspes and disputes the passage of the river. Direct reference to Alexander the Great is very slight. In one passage Olympias[21] is mentioned as the twelfth after eleven mythological brides of Zeus—that is all. Realistic touches are the elaborate description of the elephant[22] and the hippopotamus,[23] the strange birds of India,[24] the trees higher than an arrow flight[25] (Herodotus).

As a matter of fact the Ἰνδικά is not constructively the kernel of the *Dionysiaca* but really only one longer episode amid a number of

[12] 22.181.
[13] 28.9.
[14] 26.152.
[15] 39.391.
[16] 22.293.
[17] 22.226.
[18] 28.74.
[19] 28.113.
[20] 22.198.
[21] 7.128.
[22] 26.295.
[23] 26.235.
[24] 26.202.
[25] 21.326.

shorter ones, and it is impossible to separate the materials derived from the Iliad from those derived from the Odyssey, and other sources. There is no attempt to conceal the sources of the reproductions. Thus the rape of Europa (I) is from Moschus' poem; the Typhoneia suggests the Theogony; Cadmus' voyage to Samothrace (3) is combined, as we shall see, of elements from Homer and the *Argonautica*; Cadmus' sojourn in Samothrace (3), and Bacchus' sojourn with King Staphylus (18) are both from Ὀδυσσεὺς παρὰ Ἀλκίνῳ; the fight with the Spartoi (4) is from the *Argonautica* (III, 1355); the story of Melicertes and mad Athamas may have a motive from the *Hymn to Demeter* (250) reversed; the quaint story of Brongus (17) suggests the *Hecale* of Callimachus; Eros and Hymenaeus at cottabos (33) is from the *Argonautica* (III, 115), Eros and Ganymede at *tesserae* game; the story of the invention of the ship (40) is from Ὀδυσσέως σχεδία (ϛ); and the floating islands in the same connection are from Apollonius' Symplegades or from the *Hymns to Delos*; the visit of Aphrodite to the palace of Harmonia is from the visit of Hera to Aphrodite in the *Argonautica* (III, 36); the three books (44-6) of the Pentheus episode are from Euripides *Bacchæ*, though the story of Dionysus and the pirates in forty-five is from the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus*; Artemis driving to the bath attended by nymphs (48, 310 ff.), is from the *Argonautica* (III, 869).

More numerous and pervasive than the motives from any other author (except Homer) are those from the bucolic poets. In Nonnus the bucolic element is all intertwined with the most rhetorical sophistic—this note is struck from the very outset in the long speech of the Ἑλλήνιος ναύτης θαμβαλέος (I, 125) on seeing Europa on the bull. The Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος was a great favorite with Nonnus, as it has been with greater poets long since, and he echoes the lines about the letters on the hyacinth leaf in at least seven different passages (2.80. 3.154. 11.261. 12.157. 12.224. 12.247. 19.187. In six other passages he echoes the *Anthology* (in one, 16. 321, he seems to be the model for Cyrus of Panopolis, *Anthol. Pal.* IX, 136) and four of the six are in one characteristic bucolic episode, Dionysus' love for Nicaea (books 15, 16):

3.19 καὶ πλόος ὥριος ἦν from
A. P. X, 1 ὁ πλόος ὥραιος
(Leonidas)

15.258 αἴθε βέλος γενόμην ἢ δίκτυον ἠὲ φαρέτρη,
αἴθε βέλος γενόμην θηροκτόνον, ὄφρά με γυμναῖς
χερσὶν ἐλαφρίσσειεν· ὀπισθοτόνοιο δὲ τόξου
εἴην νεῦρα βόεια πολὺ πλέον, ὄφρά με μαζῷ
χιονέῳ πελάσειε κτλ. from

A. P. V. 83 εἴθ' ἄνεμος γενόμην, σὺ δὲ δὴ στείχουσα παρ' αὐγάς
στήθεα γυμνώσαις, καί με πνέοντα λάβοις.
εἴθε ῥόδον γενόμην ὑποπόρφυρον, ὄφρά με χερσὶν
(Anon.) ἀρσαμένη χαρίσῃ στήθεσι χιονέοις.

15.286 Ὕμνου μηλονόμοιο βόας Κυθέρεια νομεύει. cf.
A. P. VII, 703
Θύρσις ὁ κωμήτης, ὁ τὰ νυμφικὰ μῆλα νομεύων
Θύρσις . . . .
. . . . εὕδει
(Myrinus) φρουρεῖ δ' αὐτὸς ἑλὼν ποίμνια βάκτρον Ἔρως.

16.297 κτείνεις γὰρ ποθέοντα καὶ οὐ γαμέοντα διώκεις cf.
A. P. V, 247.3
καὶ φεύγεις φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκεις
(Macedonius).

16.321 αἴθε πατήρ με δίδαξε τελεσσιγάμου δόλον οἴνου
conveyed by Cyrus A. P. IX, 136
αἴθε πατήρ μ' ἐδίδαξε κτλ.

19.103 παυροεπής, λιγύμυθος, Ἀμυκλαίῳ τινὶ θεσμῷ
A. P. VII, 713
παυροεπὴς Ἤριννα καὶ οὐ πολύμυθος ἀοιδαῖς.
(Antipater).

It is hardly too much to say that Nonnus at his best is always bucolic rather than epic—at least idyllic in the Greek sense. When he is himself he falls naturally into the description of the sights and sounds of the world of the shepherd, husbandman or hunter. His description of the activities of Aristaeus is full of such genuine touches, "the dogs following with pricked up ears the winding scent of the game along the edge of the hill-pasture";[26] the work of the "bee-keeper, swathed from top to toe in cloth, smoking out the hives";[27] and the shepherd "leading from the hill's wooded slope down to the lush grass in the hollow, the long stubborn line

[26] 5.229-233. [27] 6.242-257.

of sheep who follow unwillingly the goat which leads the flock, yet from the heat of the day till evening they abide in the flowery pasture and he unites them in one flock."[28]

Even when the circumstances of the introduction of a bucolic motive are themselves ludicrous, as in the description of the flood in book six, when Pan sees Galatea swimming by and inquires about Echo and Polyphemus, or the substitution of a cow which *seems* to sing, instead of a shepherd who sings, yet the pastoral touches themselves are not without beauty in their appeal to the lover of Theocritus—"Sweet though it be," replies Galatea, "let be the Cyclop's song, no longer do I seek Sicilian seas."[29]

In the ninth book, when mad Ino was driven on her wanderings by Hera, she "passed over mountain after mountain till she entered the ravine of Pythian Delphi, and scarcely had she set her foot by the dragon-haunted wood in her wild chase, when the shepherd trembled at her savage cries, and the worshippers at the shrine fled before her. As she sped over the mountain the hunter shrunk from her and left his toils and the stakes which supported them, the goatherd drove his goats under the cavernous folds of the craggy cliff, the aged ploughman shuddered at her agonized leaps as he drove his oxen sweating neath the yoke, Pytho's prophetic virgin ran over the mountain shaking her laurel-crowned locks, and climbed up the peaks of the mountain where she hid in the Delphic (Corycian) cave."[30] So too when the ogre Alpus infested the Sicilian mountains until Dionysus slew him. "Oft as an old shepherd led his flock along the mountain down to their midday feeding grounds, he was devoured, and in those days Pan sate not by sheepcote and byre making music on his pipe of reeds, and Echo answered not his throbbing pipe. The drover and the woodcutter vexed no more the Dryads by cutting ship-timber in the forest."[31]

The dividing lines between the bucolic, the elegy, and the epigram in Greek are only arbitrary. This is plain everywhere in the literature, but in Nonnus the fourth element of sophistic display combines with the others almost everywhere. This is perhaps best examined in the episodes of Nicaea and Aura. In both of these stories the heroine is a fiercely chaste huntress who scorns love and is punished for her haughty virginity by being deflowered by Dionysus while she lies through his wiles in a drunken stupor.

[28] 6.261-267.
[29] 6.302-324.
[30] 9.250 ff.
[31] 45.183.

Each of the stories employs motives from the bucolic poets, and they both draw heavily on the rhetoric of the schools for endless conceits that expand and overlie the other material till it is all drenched in sophistic. As these episodes are extremely typical of Nonnus' style in the bucolic genre, it is worth while perhaps to analyze the stories at length.

Nicaea (15. 170 ff.), "another Artemis, alien to love, knowing naught of Aphrodite," roamed the wooded hills of Bithynia (cf. nymph Beroe of Berytus) shunning the house, hunting the bear, and driving a chariot of lions. A lion fawns at her feet like Una's lion in Book I of the *Faerie Queene*. The neatherd Hymnus loved her and neglected his herds, which wandered over the hills seeking their master who

> *εἰς βαθὺν ἦλθεν ἔρωτα καὶ οὐκέτι τέρπετο ποίμνῃ*[32]

(cf. Theoc. Comos (III) 42 *εἰς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα*).

As the huntress sped over the mountain side, the shepherd watched as her peplos was lifted by the breeze and saw the beauty that bloomed upon her body—white were her thighs and her ankles rosy, like lilies and anemones and meadows of roses were her snowy limbs to view. When she drew her bow, he called his cattle to witness how he longed to be her arrow, net, quiver or bowstring that she might take him in her arms and draw him to her breast.[33] He appealed to her by the memory of Tithonus, Ganymede, and Endymion not to despise a neatherd.[34] When he called upon the oaks to remind his beloved of Daphne and her fate,[35] she replied by taunting him with the ill success of Pan with Echo, Daphnis with his maid, and Apollo with Daphne.[36] He responded in a long *ῥῆσις* full of every commonplace of "conceited" antithesis, begging at least for death at her hands, requested her to plant narcissus, crocus, smilax and anemone over his grave,[37] and composed a distich inscription for his tomb. The nymph took him at his word, and pierced his throat with her arrows. The Oreads, Naiads, the nymphs of Rhyndacus (in Bithynia), Niobe on her mount, all bewailed him and sang *αἴλινα*. Not so much wept the daughters of Helios, Phaethon's sisters, for their brother's fiery fate

[32] 15.209.
[33] 15.258.
[34] 15.279.
[35] 15.299.
[36] 15.306.
[37] 15.353.

as the nymphs of Astacus chided the deed of the fierce Nicaea.[38] Eros threw away his bow and swore by Hymnus' death he would unite Nicaea to Dionysus, Rhea and Echo bewailed him, and the oak trees called down upon the hardhearted nymph the curses of Cytherea and Artemis. Nemesis saw the dead shepherd and pointed him out to Aphrodite, blaming Eros himself for his death. Then one of his kine lamented him, and "seemed to sing"[39] a bucolic threnos of twenty-one lines with the four times repeated refrain,

βούτης καλὸς ὄλωλε, καλὴ δέ μιν ἔκτανε κούρη:

Perished a shepherd fair, and fair too the maiden who slew him,
A virgin her lover hath slain—in lieu of love-potions she gave him
Doom for his meed, and she dyed her steel in the blood of the shepherd,
Mad for her love though he was, and she quenched all the torches of Eros—
Perished a shepherd fair, and fair too the maiden who slew him—
Rousing the wrath of the Nymphs, she heard not the rocks of the mountain,
Heeded the voice of the elm not at all, nor regarded the pine tree
Praying to her, "O loose not the shaft! O slay not the shepherd!"
Hymnus was mourned by the howl of the wolf and the dumb bear bewailed him,
Even the terrible eyes of the lion shed tears for the shepherd.
Perished a shepherd fair, and fair too the maiden who slew him.
Seek, O ye heifers, for yet other crags, yet search out, ye cattle,
Hills that are new, for love hath destroyed my sweetest of shepherds,
Slain by the hand of a damsel! And now what brake shall receive my
Wandering tracks? Farewell, O ye meads! farewell, ye soft pastures!
Perished a shepherd fair, and fair too the maiden who slew him.
Farewell, a long farewell, ye cliffs and ye mountains and well-springs,
Fare ye right well, O Naiad and Dryad! Then Pan of the shepherds
Answered their cries, and Phoebus: "Henceforth let the pipe lie forsaken!
Where art thou, Nemesis, Cypris? Lay, Eros, no hand on thy quiver.
Surcease of song my syrinx, for dead is the clear-throated shepherd."

Eros now fires the heart of Dionysus with love for Nicaea, whom he woos in full rhetorical complement of tropes and phrases—he will be a hunter like her; he will beseech her love, holding out not coldly chaste Athena's olive, but his own vine branch; he wishes she would tear his hair—it will only give him an opportunity to hold her hand and squeeze it; he says she is a second Eos, a younger Selene; would she were his Europa; would he were her eagle to bear her off like Aegina; would above all she were his Danae. He noticed that all the flowers of the meadow reminded him of her and he cried out to the winds that her cheeks were a bed of roses that faded not, her anemones ceased not to blush; he looked at the

[38] 15. 380 ff. [39] 15.398.



lily, and beheld her white wrists, he gazed upon the hyacinth and lo, her dark hair; he prays he may be her servant and bear her nets and stakes; he promises to give her Spartan hounds, if she will love him, and describes the beauty of the bed he will cover with vine leaves for her; he begs her not to ruin her complexion; he promises her some Indian captives; he begs her to become a Bacchanal—all this eloquence, which, of course, though not amoebean is a counter song to that of Hymnos, is useless, and Nicaea's heart is not touched by his 135 lines of musky tinkling pastoral wooing. Then he finds in the forest a cunning hound which Pan had given him, and he appeals to the dog for help, apostrophizing the oaks and rocks. The nymph of the ashtree taunts him with his lack of success in comparison with his sire Zeus. Then Nicaea drinks of the river which has already made drunk the army of the Indians, and Eros and Nemesis tell Dionysus she is asleep. Dionysus steals to her on tiptoe, and the earth sends forth all its most beautiful plants to deck the marriage bed.[40] In her dream Nicaea saw Hypnos leading a train of Loves; the wind that made the bacchanal wood leap as it passed by sang of its own accord the nuptial hymn; virginal Echo modestly replied; the pipe danced over the earth and piped its Hymen Hymenaeë loud and shrill; the pine upon the mountain whispered "lovely is their wedding." The ghost of Hymnus borne along the wind troubled the sleep of the bride as she dreamed; Pan was jealous as he thought of his Echo, and a Satyr taunted him with his failure to succeed where Dionysus had won. Immediately Pan took up the song and lamented that he had not become a vinedresser rather than a shepherd. Finally, when Nicaea awoke and found herself no longer a virgin, she lamented her lot with appeals to the Hamadryads, asked whether she should upbraid Echo or Artemis, complained that neither Pitys nor Daphne had warned her against Dionysus, to whom she bore a daughter Telete.

The episode of Aura in the forty-eighth book is in some respects a doublet of that of Nicaea. Aura also was a virgin of Bithynia, a second Artemis, a *κούρη ἀντιάνειρα*, a huntress of the lion and the bear. One day she slept beneath a bay-tree and dreamed Eros taunted her with her future subjection to love. When she woke she upbraided Daphne.[41] One day Artemis, mistress of the chase, went to bathe in the Sangarius, and Aura drove the car drawn by

[40] 16.270. [41] 48.292.

stags. As the goddess modestly bathed, the nymph accused her of being evidently soft and feminine like Aphrodite, not masculine like Athena or herself, pointing to the large full development of the goddess's breasts as evidence that Artemis was not really a virgin. Artemis was enraged, and sought revenge. For this purpose she went to the goddess Nemesis, whom she found near the lofty peaks of snow-covered Taurus. Nemesis promised that Aura should one day mourn the loss of her own virginity, and Eros was ordered to inflame Dionysus with love. Dionysus wanders over the mountains and apostrophizes Pan, calling him fortunate—Aura, not like Echo, is as heartless and unresponsive as a lion or a bear, an oak or a pine, a cornel-tree or a cliff. Overcome by weariness and passion he ceased to utter his complaint to the winds of spring, and sank to rest beneath a myrtle, when the Hamadryad of the tree peeped forth from its buds and told him he must first bind Aura before he could enjoy her.[42] As he slept he dreamed, for it was a myrtle,[43] and the ghost of the dead Ariadne came and chided him for his fickleness, and then vanished like shadowy smoke. Dionysus woke and remembered how he had overcome Nicaea. Meanwhile Aura was thirsty and sought a fountain and Dionysus knew it. He struck his thyrsus into the earth and made a fountain of wine spring forth. Persuaded by Peitho, Aura drank and fell down in drunken slumber. Eros told Dionysus, who hid her quiver and arrows, and binding her feet and hands deflowered her as she lay. Hypnos was the γαμοστόλος, for the marriage was as a dream, the hill danced, the Hamadryad waved the branches of her pine, Echo only refused to dance and hid in the depths of the rocks.

Aura raged when she woke, and slew neatherd, shepherd and husbandman; went into the temple of Cypris, scourged the statue of the goddess, threw it into the river Sangarius, and threw down also the statue of Eros. Returning to the forests, she still knew not who had deflowered her. She became pregnant, would have ripped up her own womb, and often she entered the cave of the lioness in order to be devoured, but all in vain. Artemis saw her and laughed and came taunting her, telling her that Dionysus was the author of her woe, and that she should become a Bacchanal. Artemis taunted her with having swelling and milky breasts. Aura

[42] 48.522. [43] 42.343.

uttered cries like a lioness in labour when her time came. Echo answered her. Aura tried to hold back her birthpangs, fearing to call Artemis Ilithyia or the Hours. She cursed Artemis and Athena and wished the same fate for them. Artemis in return delayed still more her pangs. Nicaea saw her and sorrowed with her as a sister in misfortune. Artemis came a second time and taunted her unmercifully.

Even as Artemis spoke Aura gave birth to twins. With a final taunt Artemis departed. Dionysus begged Nicaea to save one of the two childen for him, for Aura would certainly kill one of them. Aura exposed one child to the jaws of a lioness but the beast only licked the child and suckled it. Then Aura devoured the child herself. Artemis caught up the other child, and Aura threw herself into the Sangarius and became a fountain. Artemis gave the child to Dionysus, who delivered it to Nicaea to be suckled. When the child was weaned, Dionysus conducted him to Athens where he became Iacchus, the third after Zagreus and Bromius.

Then Dionysus put the *Corona Ariadnae* in the sky, and himself mounted to Olympus.

This hideous story of triumphant lust indifferent to its victim has the material for horror in it, but the reader feels none. Neither Dionysus nor any other person in the poem has an individual character. Sir William Jones thought there might be some connection between the style of Nonnus and that of the Mahabhârata and Râmâyana. While no such direct influence has even been traced, the sensuality of the Egyptian poet and his utter indifference to character as opposed to action has suggested the same comparison to later students. In all that relates to morals the Dionysus of Nonnus bears a striking resemblance to the men in Achilles Tatius' "Clitophon and Leucippe"—equally γυναικομανής and that simply and solely in a physical way, with scarcely a touch of sentiment, equally a sophist, and equally a coward.

Not only is Bacchus another Clitophon in character, so far as he has a character, but from his words and the words of his poet could be extracted just such another lover's manual as Achilles Tatius provides. In one scene[44] Pan actually delivers to Bacchus a lecture on love and its lore of the general type so familiar in Tibullus[45] and Ovid in parts of the *Ars Amatoria*. From this

[44] 42.205. [45] Book I, car. 4.

precious disquisition (of course, a stock-subject for ages) and elsewhere in the poem, we garner such store of wisdom as that beauty unadorned is most tempting;[46] modesty inflames love;[47] of desire alone there is no satiety;[48] women are more amorous than men, but in their modesty they conceal the wounds of Eros, love maddened though they be, and this concealment makes Love's sparks still hotter, for when they seek a confidant they alleviate their pangs;[49] an imitation of blushing modesty will win a woman;[50] but, above all, flattery will, for above all golden treasure, she prefers to hear of her own rosy beauty, that it surpasses all her friends;[51] a knowing silence accompanied by nods and winks[52] is useful; it is also advisable to smite the brow in feigned astonishment,[53] for astonishment furnishes the conduit (*ὀχετηγός*) to Love, and when Love begins, the eye is its precursor;[54] above all, do not be timid, for women have no weapons, their only lances are darted from their eyes, and their only arrows are their rosy cheeks;[55] and you need no money, if you are handsome, for women love beauty and not gold.[56] We also learn without surprise that the surest remedy for an old love is a new one;[57] moreover, that to sleep beneath a myrtle brings dreams of love;[58] and that love's sparks wax warmer in the darkness of the night.[59]

Compared with this wealth of reflection on the one topic of love, we have but two reflections on life and death—one of these a really effective expansion of Glaucus' *οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή* (Z 145) absurdly enough put in the mouth of Cadmus the wooer in reply to a question from his bride, "Dear nymph (or bride), why askest thou me so the blood of my descent? The race of mortals doomed to swift decay I liken to leaves, for the leaves are shed upon the earth by the wild winds when the season of Fall sets in, but others the treey wood bringeth forth fresh in its tresses in the hour of spring. So this one of the generations of mortals of brief span has galloped down life's course and yieldeth to destruction, but that one is still in bloom only to yield to another, for slowly flowing with recurrent stream the age (*αἰών*) reshapes itself from

46 42.85.
47 42.350.
48 42.182.
49 42.209.
50 42.217.
51 42.228.
52 42.232.
53 42.222.
54 42.43.
55 42.236.
56 42.242.
57 11.359.
58 42.343.
59 33.265.

eld to youth."[60] The other is a still clearer expression of the transmigration of souls. The Indians buried their dead "as who had escaped from the earthy bonds of mortal life, the soul being sent thither whence it came, back to the old turning post (starting point and goal) in circling chain,[61]

> ἐταρχύσαντο θανόντας
> οἷα βίου βροτέου γαιήια δεσμὰ φυγόντας
> ψυχῆς πεμπομένης, ὅθεν ἤλυθε, κυκλάδι σειρῇ
> νύσσαν ἐς ἀρχαίην.

It is the more remarkable that this belief is ascribed to the Indians, who are here called ἔμφρονες Ἰνδοί, for in general only the savage nature of the Indians as γηγενέες is brought out.

Monstrous and heartless cruelty is everywhere throughout Greek poetry the attribute of angry deities, but few pictures of the childish and pitiless spite of heaven are more revolting than the story of Aura. It affects the reader less than the story of the wrath of Aphrodite against Hippolytus only because Euripides handles men and women, and this Egyptian only presents the "beauty of a painted hall." With this cruelty goes naturally enough an extreme sensuality, of which dozens of examples could be offered in contrast to the masculine health and reticence of Homer. The loves of Zeus for Semele,[62] of Morrheus for Chalcomeda[63] and of Hymnus[64] and Dionysus[65] for Nicaea and Aura[66] and the scenes of the Indian warrior gazing on the slain Bacchante[67] and the wrestling matches of Dionysus with Ampelus[68] and Pallene, the symbolism of the address to Beroe by Dionysus as husbandman of Lebanon—all these show equally an oriental sensuality varied with differing degrees of beauty. For the beauty of some of these scenes, especially the last, is not to be denied, except by hypocrites, only it is a beauty worlds removed from even the least dignified scene in Homer—the song of Demodocus. Worth noticing is the virago nature of all Nonnus' women, which is as marked as the womanishness of the men.

Closely akin to this gross "self-absorption with the details of their own bodies" as the specific brand of Greek decadence has

[60] 3. 248 ff.
[61] 37.3.
[62] 7.
[63] 35.
[64] 15.
[65] 16.
[66] 48.
[67] 10.
[68] 48.

been well described, is the lack of humor Nonnus displays. Like the sensuality, this want of a sense of humor, that natural accompaniment of sympathy and pity, is the inevitable reverse side of the asceticism which in Nonnus' own land above all was conquering society. Nonnus does show at times a coarse humor sometimes in keeping with the action, as when Deniades replies to the satyr-herald of Dionysus that when he has conquered Bacchus he will keep the satyr to fan the feasters in the conqueror's palace by flapping his ears.[69] (Such characterization as the Indians receive is almost everywhere that of giants—enemies of the gods, who have no gods but *γαῖα καὶ ὕδωρ*.[70]) The humor of the fanciful *Οὐατοκοῖται*[71] "whose custom it is to sleep on their long ears," like some of the droll fancies of Lucian's parodies, is in place in a list of the marvels of India, as is the fable that elephants, having no knees, cannot lie down.[72] Far commoner, however, than any such deliberate touches of humor as the *Οὐατοκοῖται* and the ass-eared satyr, who are both after all only monsters, are the cases where Nonnus' over-exuberant fancy has introduced some touch which in flagrant lack of reticence or absurd bathos spoils the rest of the scene. Examples of the former are 32.33-5 (*Διὸς ἀπάτη*) and 48.369 (Aura to Artemis), and of the latter 42.76, where it is expressly mentioned in praise of Beroe, the patroness nymph of Berytus, that she used no cosmetics (*οὐ ξανθόχροϊ κόσμῳ χρισαμένη*) to adorn her beauty, "which nature (*φύσις*) had given the nymph, which nature had invented." Such emphasis seems somewhat misplaced in describing a real nymph, but the fourth century evidently resembled somewhat the twentieth. And rhetoric always runs the risk of missing the sublime. A wonderful case of it is found in 47.560, where Hera bids Perseus in combat with Dionysus turn the Bassarids into statues by means of the Gorgon's head, and with these improvised works of art in stone adorn the streets and agora of Argos! The same sort of absurdity spoils two scenes in which Nike appears—in 4.450, at the victory of the gods over the giants, Ares slips in the gore and stains his armor, and Nike, who stands close by (like the umpire at a German *Mensur*), gets her gown bespattered with blood. Absurd as this is, it is surpassed by the description of Nike as attendant at the wedding of Cadmus,[73]

[69] 21.273.
[70] 34.236.
[71] 26.95.
[72] 26.307.
[73] 5.108.

where she "wove with virginal lips the nuptial song, and winding her footsteps in the circling dance, made her wings modestly flutter amid the wings of the Erotes." An equally ridiculous figure is cut by Artemis at the bath,[74] who is so excessively modest that she will not strip and be done with it, but apparently afraid of her own body, undresses and washes herself by degrees, like a hospital nurse with a bed-ridden patient. A far cry back to the Aphrodite of Cnidos! However, perhaps, the most irritating absurdity of all is the ascription of the Ἐπιτάφιος Ὕμνου to a melancholy cow! A picture[75] which would be well enough in keeping with the milieu of "Clitophon and Leucippe," but is sufficiently *de trop* in an epic setting is that of Morrheus, the Indian prince who loves the Bassarid Chalcomeda, tiptoeing to bed for fear of waking his black-bosomed spouse Chirobia (evidently he feared the weight of her hand), and wishing Chalcomeda would appear and bring light into his darkness.

In order to see clearly how Nonnus' description differs from that of Homer and Apollonius, it may be well to examine two elaborate ἐπιδείξεις, the Κάδμου ἀπόπλους[76] and the Ἠλέκτρας αὐλή.[77] The groundwork of the description of the voyage of Cadmus is the regular Homeric formulas for voyaging by sea as in A 430 ff., the arrival of Odysseus at Chrysa and his departure, and the more extended one in β 389 ff., the departure of Telemachus from Ithaca. The elements of such a scene are almost strictly narrative in the Iliad, more elaborately descriptive in the Odyssey; the scene in Nonnus is worked out with every elaboration of ornament in "colors" of the anthologists and Apollonius' *Argonaut*, I. 519—the overrich embroidery of the theme being in a sense justified by the festive nature of the voyage, for Cadmus is sailing over vernal seas to woo his divine bride.

In the Iliad, when the ship leaves harbor (the time being marked only by the appearance of rosy fingered Dawn), Apollo sends a fair breeze, they set up the mast and spread the white sails, the wind blows into the midst of the sail and the dark purple wave shrieks about the keel as the ship speeds on. The ship runs down the wave accomplishing her way, and when her destination is reached, of it is an out bound ship entering a foreign harbor, when they have entered the deep haven, they furl sails, stow

[74] 48.337.
[75] 34.81.
[76] 3. 1 f.
[77] 3. 131.

them in the black ship, let down the mast by letting go the fore-stays (προτόνοις) and lowering the mast into the mast-crutch (ἱστοδόκῃ) row the ship forward to her moorings, throw out the drag-weights, (εὐναί) fasten the stern-hawsers, and go ashore. But on reaching home after a voyage, they draw the black ship high on the sand of the beach, stretch tall props under her, and leave her.

In the Odyssey, when Telemachus departs, the night before the voyage the swift ship is drawn down into the sea, fitted out with all the tackle (ὅπλα) a well-benched ship carries, and is rowed out to the harbor mouth, where the crew wait by it. When the captains (Telemachus and Mentor-Athena) have come aboard, the crew cast the stern-hawsers (πρυμνήσια) loose and go aboard themselves and seat themselves on the benches. Athena sends them a favorable wind, a fresh western breeze, which comes whistling (κελάδοντα) over the wine-dark sea. At the command of the captain they hoist up the fir-wood mast in the hollow mast-foot (μεσόδμῃ), make it fast by means of the forestays, and haul up the white sails by means of the smooth-twisted rawhide ropes (βοεῦσι), and the wind blows into the sail and the ship pursues her voyage as in the Iliad, while the crew make the tackle (ὅπλα = sheets or halyards) fast and set up the wine bowls all along the swift black ship.

In the *Argonautica*, after the Argo had been fitted out for the voyage, at evening when the peaks threw their shadows over the fields, all the crew spread a deep bed of leaves (βαθεῖαν φυλλάδα) on the sand by the grey sea beach, and lay in order at the feast. Then when the radiant Dawn with her gleaming eyes caught sight of the lofty peak of Pelion, and the sea began to heave and swell under the wind and wash the sides of sun-bathed promontories, Tiphys, the helmsman, awoke and summoned the Argonauts and they took their allotted places upon the benches at the oars, each by his own armour; and now the hawsers (πείσματα) were hauled in and the libation was poured; then to the sound of Orpheus' lyre they smote the tumbling water with their oars, as rhythmically as dancers round an altar strike the earth with their feet, and the swish of the sea surged against the side, and the dark brine, murmuring hoarsely at the might of the sturdy men, boiled into foam on each side of the ship, and floated astern in a long white wake like a path which stretches away over a meadow. But when they had

left behind the narrow mouth of the bay, at the command of Tiphys, who handled skilfully the smooth steering oars (πηδάλια), they set up the great mast in the mast box (μεσόδμη) and made it fast by means of the fore-stays which they drew down at each side, and let the canvas (λίνα) drop down (χεῦαν) it, when they had hauled it up to the block (ἠλακάτη) [or the revolving top of the mast], and the shrill wind caught (ἐν . . . πέσεν) the sail; then they made the halyards fast to separate smooth pins (περόνῃσι) on the after deck (ἐπ ἰκριόφιν). And as they sped smoothly past the long promontory of Tisaea, and Orpheus sang and played, the fish, little and monstrous, came rushing over the deep sea and followed, skimming the wet ways as they swam, even as sheep a piping shepherd.

In these three accounts of a voyage the picturesque description increases steadily as we pass from the Iliad to the Odyssey and thence to the *Argonautica.* It is noticeable, though, that Homer contents himself with plain precise nautical terms in the Iliad, and uses only a few general epithets in the Odyssey passage, and Apollonius, while he uses three set similes, contents himself otherwise with more detailed pictures of nature, in which however, but one metaphor occurs (φαεινοῖς ὄμμασιν 'Ηώς) and more minute description of the parts of the ship (πηδάλια, λίνα, ἠλακάτη, περόναι, ἴκρια, κάλωας).

The method of Nonnus (3. 1-54) is to embroider every hint in as much detail as it will bear, and more, thus; "The winter was gone, Orion was rising, exhibiting his cloudless baldric and the gleaming surface of his sword, and no longer did the frosty footsteps of the sunken Bull bathe themselves in the circular lake (i. e., ocean); and no longer was the marble water beyond the clime of the thirsty[78] Bear traversed with unwet footsteps—no longer did the Scythian whip on his migrant house and scratch the surface of frozen Ister into watery furrows as he crossed its stream on track of wooden wheels. Already Zephyr's precursor, the season pregnant with bursting buds, had made drunk the dewy breezes, and the sweetly twittering swallow, shrill messenger that in the spring is man's fellow-lodger, had just appeared to shorten the morning sleep; now naked from their fragrant cover the flowers laughed, all washed in the lifegiving dew of spring. Then Cadmus left the saffron halls of the Cilicians and Mt. Taurus' lofty-

[78] ε 275 οἴη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν 'Ωκεανοῖο

hornèd peak—left them at morn when Dawn clove the darkness. Now it was the season for sea-faring. At Cadmus' eager bidding the curb-chains[79] of his ship were hove from the ground: the mast, whose high head smote the upper air, was raised erect; then gently whipping the sea with the breath of morn the light breeze hummed over it and whistled as it conducted the ship (πομπὸν ἔχων κελάδημα); and then it made the swell of the sea roll back and forth under its gusts and so broke up the dolphins' dance amid the waves, for he turns his somersaults when the sea is calm and still. Through the twisted cordage sharp piped the whistle of the wind and the forestays roared as the wind passed, and the sail was hard put to it, and bellied out pregnant with the wind as the ship sped straight on (ἰθυπόρου = νηός cf. Hom. ποντοπόροιο). The never-stable billows were cloven and fell back again in spray upon the tumbling water, and as the ship urged on over the sea the sound of the waves hummed about the keel, and the sea was divided in a path as the steering oar with its amplustre[80] cut its trace deep into the humped and whitecap-covered surface of the sea. When after a ten days' voyage they saw the flame of the sleepless pine on Samothrace, the sailors rejoiced at approaching land, and furling their sails, brought the ship near her moorings in calm water, just ruffling the windless water with their oartips as they brought her to land under the shelter of the harbor. The ships were not drawn up aslant (ἀκλινέων), but their hawsers (πείσματα) were passed through holes in the stone landing stage (48 τρητὸς ὄνυξ πέτραιος ἐδέξατο πείσματα νηῶν) and the curved tooth of the ship's bridle fastened itself tight deep in the bosom of the moist sand, just as Phaethon sank. On the beach the sailors spread upon the sands beds that lay upon the earth, nor had any coverlets (ἀστορέας—ἐπεστορέσαντο χαμεύνας) after their evening meal, and on their heavy eyes Sleep, the wanderer, set his noiseless foot."

In this passage the time of year is set first positively and next negatively by a double picture of the winter that had passed, then Spring is described in terms of Meleager's Spring (Anthol. IX, 363) and the προτρέπτικα εἰς ναυτιλίαν of Leonidas and Antipater (Anthol. X, 1 and 2). The operations of getting under way and bringing the ship into harbor are described after Homeric models

[79] (χαλινωτήρια) ναὸς χαλινός, Pindar P. 4.42 χαλινωτήρια νεῶν Eur. Hec. 539 Opp. H. 1.359.

[80] πηδαλίου δὲ κόρυμβα.



(except for the mooring holes in the wharf), with touches from Apollonius, but the violent metaphors are more in the manner of Pindar and the tragedians. The palace and gardens of Electra where Cadmus woos his bride are taken from η of the Odyssey, and here, too, Nonnus follows his usual plan of combining motives from Homer and Apollonius, in free composition in the taste of his own day.

As Cadmus went up from the harbor to the town, he was met by Peitho in the form of a working woman with a water jar of silver in which she had been drawing water—an omen of his approaching nuptials. This was near the city by the hollow troughs where the women wash clothes, and here the goddess enveloped him in a cloud to enable him to enter the city unseen—two disconnected motives from the Odyssey lugged in for nothing, as the troughs are never mentioned again, and since Cadmus was already promised Harmonia as his bride, and her foster-brother Emathion welcomes him kindly, why the protection? As Cadmus passed, a crow perched under an olive's soft gray shade chided him for being a laggard in love. Cadmus, unlike Jason in Argon, III, 929, needs no Mopsus to interpret the crow's language, and has done nothing to deserve the crow's taunts, though later he makes a bashful and mournful suitor. Once in sight of the king's "far-visible, all-hospitable court," Cadmus is deserted by Peitho, who points silently to the palace and vanishes.

Cadmus stands and gazes at the palace, the work of Hephaestus. The palace was new, with a brazen threshold well-wrought, with lofty door-posts, and doors opening in both directions under the gateways covered with reliefs. The middle of the roof was spherical—*a hill*[81] *with swelling head* and the surface walls from innermost chamber to threshold were covered with *mosaic work* laid in *white plaster*.[82] Here the palace of Alcinous is easily recognizable, but here there is no glitter of gold and silver, and the walls instead of being of brass (*εἰς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῖο*)[83] are of mosaic, which with the domed roof makes the characteristic Byzantine architecture. This palace, like Hagia Sophia is also *κίοσιν ὑψωθεῖσα* (126), but far more conspicuous than its columnar architecture are the

[81] λόφος, which would tempt one to read *θόλος*.

[82] γύψος.

[83] 3.140, η 86.

reliefs (γλυφίδες)[84] and the beauty of the pictured hall (κάλλος γραπτοῖο μελάθρου) and the glittering brilliancy of the quarried stonework. The use of mosaic on the walls of Electra's palace is illustrated best by the palace of King Staphylus in 18.67, "conspicuous for the beauty of its ornamentation of divers colored stones—a hall whose lovely craftsmanship shone in the colors of the sun and moon with the gleam of variegated marble; its walls were white with ore of silver and dazzled the eyes of mortals with the flash of lychnite. The hall, moreover, was beautiful with stone that exhibited a fiery blush, among which the wine-dark amethyst was set with (ἐρειδομένην) the jacinth, the yellow agate emitted its smoky glow, the spotty ophite twinkled like a snake's scales, and Assyria's emerald shot forth its splendid green. Rich gilding gleamed red on the surface of the wooden ceiling of the hall, which rested on ranks of columns. The gleaming floor was variegated with fair tessellated work of marble cut into many pieces, and the vast gateway was covered with a fine sheathing of a certain beautifully carved wood like new sawn ivory."

Like that of Alcinous the palace of Electra has before it a garden-close of four acres. The gardens of Alcinous were the last word in luxuriant splendor to Homer's auditors: in that earthly Paradise grew pears, pomegranates, apples, figs, olives, and grapes, the zephyr blew there all the year round, and fruits of every stage grew together. There was in it besides a vegetable garden, and two springs watered it. This garden Nonnus conveyed with all its fruits except the vine, which was not yet created (7.76). To the plants Homer enumerates he adds the palm, laurel, myrtle, cypress, and hyacinth, and into this bewildering tropical garden, or rather jungle, he transfers the golden statues of boys bearing torches to light the evening banquet, while he removes the golden and silver dogs of Alcinous from the palace and stations them in ranks before the doors (ἄγχι θυράων),[85] apparently of the garden, where they greet Cadmus with friendly barks and wagging tails in a way that suggests both the lions before the Interpreter's house in Pilgrim's Progress, and the famous lion throne of Byzantium.

The gardens of Alcinous in the precision and order which distinguish all their magic, and in their entirely practical and useful

[84] Argon III, 218=Triglyphs.

[85] ὄρχατος ἄγχι θυράων. η 112. σκυλάκων στίχες ἄγχι θυράων· 3.174.

fruits and vegetables, are much more Hellenic than the garden of Electra. Even Hesiod must have approved of them. Yet it is impossible to deny the oriental richness of coloring in Nonnus' pictured paradise: "Hard by before the royal house, the dewy fruit hung heavy on the trees of a great orchard-close of four acres; there the male palm spread his leaves and vowed his passion for the female palm, and noble pear beside its coeval pear whispered at morn, and as it waved its fruit, lashed the rich olive's neighboring bough. In the winds of spring the myrtle leaves quivered next to the shamefaced laurel (Daphne), and the perfumed breeze fanned the erect (read *ὄρθιον* for *ὄρθριον* of text) foliage of the leafy cypress; the sweet fig and the juicy pomegranate's blushing fruit flourished side by side with the crimson fruit hard by, and apple flowered by its neighbor apple; there the leaves of many a weeping hyacinth were pied with the living characters of Phoebus' lore, and as the Zephyr blew through the fertile garden, Apollo in his insatiable longing ever darted thither his restless eyes, and when he saw his fair youth's flower shaken by the breeze, the god trembled at the memory of the discus, for fear lest the wind in his jealousy might harbor spite 'gainst Hyacinthus even when he was but a flower; if true it is that once Apollo saw him in his death-throes in the dust, and wept with eyes that never before knew weeping, and the tears of Phoebus gave shape to that flowery form which of its own bidding wrote 'ailinon' upon the hyacinth petals. Such was the shady orchard-close, and nearby it was a fountain with two mouths, on one side the citizens fetched their drink, and from the other the husbandman drew away in ditches the winding water in many a branching stream, watering tree after tree, and a certain stream, as if from Phoebus sent, purled and murmured at the foot of the laurel as it softly sang. Also many a well-fashioned youth of gold stood there, staying his feet upon the rock, and held up before the feasters the evening torch's festal glow, and many a rank of mimic hounds in the artificial gaping of whose grinning jaws the art of their form's portrayal was silently visible, stood endowed with mind on this side the doors and on that, and golden dog joined his silvern neighbor barking with swollen throat, and fawning upon the men to whom they were accustomed; and as Cadmus passed by they emitted a hospitable mimicry of sound and wagged the feigned semblance of an affectionate tail!"

In all these scenes the profusion of fancy is as evident as the lack of control the poet has over it. When the subject matter is such that fancy is a fair substitute for a truly plastic imagination, and dignity is not desired, Nonnus can be really charmingly quaint at times. The episode of Brongus,[88] the simple shepherd, who welcomed the god to his cabin in the wilderness and entertained him with his crude fare, is a good foil to the splendors of King Staphylus' palace which follow it. "In the plain of Alybe by the river Geudis dwelt Brongus in a rustic hut in the wilderness, in which he welcomed Bacchus. No citizen he, but a ranger of the mountains, whose dwelling was in no building, but he abode beneath an unhewn foundation of the giants in a house which was no house, and he welcomed the giver of jollity with draughts of milk, mixing the snowy dew of a she-goat's milking. To such simple fare served in rustic cups the hospitable shepherd would have added the sacrifice of one ewe from his fold, but the god restrained him, and the old man heeded Bacchus' unshaken refusal, and leaving the ewe untouched, he set before the willing Lyaeus a shepherd's feast, contriving for his table, whereon was no dish to carve, a dinner that was no dinner. 'Twas such a meal as men say Molorcus of Cleonae prepared for Heracles, as he hasted to the contest with the lion, for Brongus in imitation of that friendly herdsman put upon the table store of choice autumn olives swimming in brine, and brought new curded cheese in woven baskets, a round cheese, still soft and moist. The simple meal of that bloodless table the god remembered forever afterward, even at the table of his mother Cybele. And he stood amazed at the rocky gateways of the circular court, wondering how laborious nature had carved the house, how without art the cliffs had been laid out as if with the compass. And he mixed in a bowl the fresh-flowing juice of the wine-press and said, 'Receive, old man, this gift, surcease of all care; thou hast no need of milk, possessing this fragrant dew, the earthly type of heaven's nectar, which Ganymede draweth and rejoiceth withal the heart of great Zeus on Olympus. Let be thy longing for the milk of old, for the snowy moisture of the pressed dugs of she-goats delighteth not mankind, and lighteneth not man's care.' With these words he gave to Brongus, as meed of his welcome at the shepherd's board, the fair-clustered fruit whose child is care-

[88] 17.40 ff.

dispelling drunkenness; and the Lord Bacchus taught him the toil of the winedresser which loves the flowers, how to dig around the vines a watering ditch, to cut off the tips of the old dead branches, and foster the young shoots of the vine that they may bear the wine producing clusters."

The palace of King Staphylus is inhabited by mere abstractions, like the house of Alma in the *Fairie Queene*. The king himself, Queen Methe, Prince Botrys and the lusty old man Pithos are no more nor less than what their names would indicate. But in spite of their shadowy unreality the scenes in which they take part have a fantastic charm, heightened by the splendid setting of the fairy palace agleam with silver and gold and mosaic work of precious stones. Here at a great feast at which the king welcomed the god, for the first time they tasted wine. And first Maron (Od. IX, 197), Bacchus' charioteer, danced supported by a Satyr on each side, holding a wine skin slung around his neck, and a wine cup. Then Queen Methe became drunk and Bacchus had to hold her to keep her from falling, and the cheeks of Prince Botrys, who was now full of wine, were flushed with a purple glow, and King Staphylus too was drunk. Both father and son bound their heads with ivy, and Botrys performed a most elegant *pas seul*, spinning around with steps that rivalled each other as they flew—*δεξιὸν ἐκ λαιοιο μετήλυδα ταρσὸν ἐλίσσων*— evidently a kind of double shuffle. Then the king danced with his arm around his son's neck, and the queen joined them and made a third with her husband and son on either side, an arm around the neck of each—a lovely trio. "And lusty old Pithos shook his grey hair to the breeze, full of the sweet liquor up to his very teeth, and danced heavy with wine, twirling his staggering foot, and the sweet drops that flew from his hiccuping lips made his tawny beard white with foam. All day they drank, and the cups were still being drawn when shadowy darkness covered all the eventide earth—and the still night clad the dark in her own colors, patterning the heavens with her robe of stars."

The king sent Bacchus on his way with prophecies of victory, but while the god was traversing Syria, King Staphylus died. Dionysus returned at the news to comfort the sorrowing queen, by interpreting to her the meaning of their names. A funeral agon is celebrated for the dead king, consisting of a contest in song between Erechtheus against Oeagros, won by the latter, and a con-

test in pantomime—Maron dancing the rivalry of Aristaeus with honey against Bacchus with wine for the favor of the gods—and Silenus performing a variety of difficult dances, and finally turning into a river. After the funeral Bacchus clad the queen in a new crimson peplos, washed Pithos and bade him put on a shining white chiton, and throw away his old one, befouled with the ashes of weeping. Then he made Prince Botrys open the royal wardrobes and put on the purple-dyed robes worn by his father, and all feasted again till evening. The last we hear of this charming royal household only Nonnus would have told as he does: "The long ranks of feasters took the gift of sleep by turns upon the deep-strewn couches within the hall. And Pithos and Maron went up upon one bed, belching up the fragrant draught of the nectar of the wine-press, and made each other drunk on the like breath each breathed forth all night long! But Eupetale, the nurse of Lyaeus, lighted a torch and spread for Botrys and for Dionysus a double purple covered bed for the two of them, but in the thalamus nearby, apart from the Satyrs and removed from Dionysus, the attendants spread a golden couch for the queen."

L. P. Chamberlayne.

The University of South Carolina.

A NOTE ON LYDGATE'S USE OF THE *DO* AUXILIARY

[The note that follows pleads as a justification of its inclusion in this group of classical studies its relation to the broadly interested syntactician in whose memory this volume is published. In a larger and still unpublished investigation, of which this note is a by-product, my friend and former colleague, Professor Bain, showed his interest by helping me over many a rough place when I wandered into the field of classical syntax. And he was always so ready to lend me the aid of his fine syntactical feeling in weighing judgments about English constructions that I cannot feel any lack of appropriateness in the subject-matter of my slight contribution to the memory of one who *de constructione verborum nil a se alienum putavit.* J. F. R.]

In an article published in *Modern Philology*[1] a year ago I showed that John Lydgate has left in his poetry the first recorded frequent use of the unambiguous *do* auxiliary in English. Although in that article I called attention to the fact that, contrary to his practice in his poetry, Lydgate did not use *do* periphrastic tenses in his prose piece, *The Serpent of Division*, and pointed out the same sort of inconsistency between the poetry and the prose of Lydgate's contemporary, John Capgrave, I had at the time of putting the paper into print no satisfactory reason to account for the general use of the *do* auxiliary in poetry before it appeared in prose. Dietze's[2] theory of metrical convenience to explain the more frequent occurrence of *do* periphrastic tenses in modern English poetry than in modern English prose would not satisfy my curiosity in regard to the cause of Lydgate's frequent use of a construction that had appeared very sparingly in the written record before his day. Here I return to my knitting long enough to offer a simple and reasonable theory to account for Lydgate's carrying over into poetry what I suppose was, before his elevation of it, a construction employed only in the spoken language.

To facilitate his rime, not to fill his rhythm, Lydgate used *do* periphrastic tenses. The use of *do* periphrastic tenses gave him the opportunity of substituting the infinitive for inflected forms of small rime value, and of throwing the infinitive to the end of the verse-line. The end-line infinitive after the *do* auxiliary furnished him the chance of a rime with other infinitives, especially with infinitives after the established auxiliaries, and with any other part of speech. The inflected third person singular indicative and the inflected preterites, largely *-ed* and *-t* preterites, gave him, on the contrary, slight opportunity for rimes except with similarly inflected forms.

[1] "The *Do* Auxiliary—1400 to 1450," *Modern Philology*, XII, 7, January 1915, pp. 449-456.

[2] *Das Umschreibende Do in der neuenglischen Prosa*, Jena, 1895, pp. 18-19.

From the following list of all the rime pairs in the *Temple of Glas* of which an infinitive after an auxiliary *do* furnishes one member, it may be seen with what sort of rime elements Lydgate joined the end-line infinitives of *do* periphrastic tenses:

19-20, *roche:did approche;* 79-80, *liue:dide rife;* 115-116, *tre:did fle;* 119-120, *did . sue:to transmue;* 133-143, *did obeie:to conuei;* 229-230, *grace:doþ pace;* 311-312, *benigne:doþ resigne;* 370-372, *did enclyne:fyne;* 511-513, *do specifie:fantasie;* 671-672, *to take:doþ awake;* 846-847, *doþ . . . enbrace:grace;* 944-945, *disease: dide sease;* 1026-1028, *doþ . . . suffise:deuyse* (infinitive); 1054-1056, *did abraide: seide;* 1055-1057, *did fele:wele;* 1232-1233, *founde* (past part.)*:dide wounde;* 1265-1267, *do . . . assure:lendure;* 1279-1281, *wele* (adjective)*:did knele;* 1290-1291, *dide . . . brace:space;* 1356-1358, *done appere:chere;* 1364-1365, *sake:did awake.*

That Lydgate took full advantage of the rime convenience offered by the possible end-line position of the infinitive after auxiliary *do* is made clear by the statement that of the one hundred and twenty-one instances of his use of this construction which I cited in my former article,[3] one hundred and nineteen cast the infinitive into the riming position.[4]

In making rime use of a colloquialism that Gower, Chaucer, and Hoccleve avoided, Lydgate merely added one more means of throwing the easily riming infinitive to the end of the line. For the same rime purpose, earlier and better poets than Lydgate had generously employed the infinitive after the established auxiliaries. While Chaucer, for instance, used in the *Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* only forty-five per cent of the infinitives after the established auxiliaries to carry the rime, he had employed in Book I of *Troilus and Creseide* sixty-two per cent, and in *The Clerkes Tale* seventy-five per cent, of the infinitives after the established auxiliaries to bear the rime burden.[5] Approximately six per cent of the rimes in Book I of *Troilus and Creseide* and in *The Clerkes Tale* depend upon this infinitive rime device.[6] And in the use of the established auxiliary plus infinitive a mere manipulation of the word-order would bring the infinitive into the riming position; Lydgate's practice, on the contrary, involved a choice between forms of identical

[3] Twenty examples in the *Æsop*; twenty one in the *Temple of Glas*; thirteen in the *Troy Book* (ll. 1-4000); thirty in *Resoun and Sensuallyte* (ll. 1-4100); twenty in the *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* (ll. 1-4000); seventeen in *Secres of Olde Philosoffres* (ll. 1-1491).

[4] Fourteen of sixteen consecutive examples of *do* periphrastic tenses in Capgrave's verse *Life of St. Katharine* send the infinitive to the end of the line.

[5] The stanzaic-form of *Troilus and Creseide* and of *The Clerkes Tale* makes more demand upon rime than does that of the *Prologue*.

[6] Compare Tennyson's practice in *In Memoriam*: only one-fifth of one per cent of the lines obtain their rime in this manner.



meaning: the periphrastic form provided the means of an easy rime; the inflected form offered a more difficult rime possibility.

As far as the record shows, Lydgate was the first maker of verse to employ a rime device that weak versifiers have found of great help;[7] that many good poets have not always been above using;[8] and that Doctor Johnson, in these well-known words, excused the poet Cowley for having overworked: "The words 'do' and 'did,' which so much degrade in present estimation the line that admits them, were in the time of Cowley little censured or avoided."[9] And it is a rime device in perfect harmony with the monkish mechanism of Lydgate's verse.

JAMES FINCH ROYSTER.

The University of Texas.

[7] A good specimen of recent Cooglereseque verse (*Domnold, A Legend of Ireland in the Thirteenth Century*, by F. W. Grattan, 1911) on some of its pages runs the percentage of *do* plus infinitive rimes as high as fifteen.

[8] For example, in an early poem, *A Dream of Fair Women* (288 ll.), Tennyson uses periphrastic *do* tenses four times apparently only for the sake of an easy rime. In a blank-verse poem, more than four times as long as *A Dream of Fair Women*, *Lancelot and Elaine* (1418 ll.), but one *do* periphrastic tense is found, and the infinitive is not at the end of the line. Furthermore, in *Lancelot and Elaine*, past tenses in -*'d* and -*t* end approximately three per cent of the blank-verse lines!

[9] *The Works of the English Poets*, VII, 27.

THE MEANING OF STATARIA AS APPLIED TO THE COMEDIES OF TERENCE

Donatus and Euanthius, followed by modern editors, have made a literary classification of the plays of Latin Comedy into *statariae* and *motoriae*. By these terms are indicated, on the one hand, plays in which there is little action, and on the other hand, plays that are lively and bustling. It is difficult, if not impossible, to accept any such classification for the plays of Terence. Moreover, the editors do not agree among themselves nor with the commentators in their grouping of the plays according to this classification. Eugraphius, besides, in his definition of the terms, is not at one with Donatus and Euanthius. It seems, therefore, worth while to examine the evidence of the literature and to take especial notice of the comment of Eugraphius, with a view to establishing, if possible, a more appropriate meaning for *stataria*, or at least to throwing more light on its meaning.

The idea of Donatus and Euanthius smacks so of the Greek (*graecissat*) that one naturally looks for a Greek source, from which Latin criticism has drawn. A search fails, however, to reveal definitely such an origin.[1] A parallel classification of poetry may be hinted at in Dion. Thr. (Cramer Anecd. Oxon. IV p. 313): *ποιήσεως χαρακτῆρες τρεῖς· διηγηματικός δραματικός μικτός.*[2] "There are three kinds of poetry (not comedy, however), narrative, dramatic, mixed." *διηγηματικός* might be translated *statarius* and *δραματικός* *motorius*, though the translation is, of course, forced, and it is a far call to Euanthius's comment: "comoediae sunt motoriae aut statariae aut mixtae." Leo says: "dennoch ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit für Übertragung aus dem Griechischen."[3] Granting a Greek source, we are no nearer the conclusion that Terence's plays exemplify three kinds of comedy. If the comments of Donatus and Euanthius be based on Greek grammarians, the propriety of applying their definitions to Latin plays is all the more open to suspicion.

The definite information on *stataria* in Latin literature is meagre. In later prose there are but two instances of its use.

[1] Especial care has been taken to examine the anonymous writers **παρὰ κωμῳδίας.**

[2] Quoted by Leo, *Plaut. Forsch*. p. 214.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 215, n. 1.

Cicero employs the word in application to orators, stating that it was applied to actors also: "uolo enim ut in scaena sic etiam in foro non eos modo laudari qui celeri motu et difficili utantur, sed eos etiam quos statarios appellant, quorum sit simplex in agendo ueritas, non molesta."[4] Again in the Brutus *statarius* is referred to the orator in the same sense: "C. Piso statarius et sermonis plenus orator."[5] In these passages *statarius* defines the manner of delivery of the orator, not the subject matter of his oration. In fact the implication is that the two should be kept distinct; for an orator may be *statarius* and yet *sermonis plenus*; "an orator without gesture yet with plenty to say."

Two classes of actors are taken note of by Quintilian, but he does not use the terms *statarius* or *motorius* to describe them: "maximos actores comoediarum, Demetrium et Stratoclea, placere diuersis uirtutibus uidimus. sed illud minus mirum, quod alter deos et iuuenes et bonos patres seruosque et graues anus optime, alter acres senes, callidos seruos, parasitos, lenones et omnia agitatiora melius."[6]

In the prologue of the Bacchides of Plautus *stataria* is definitely applied to the comedy itself. Silenus, as prologuist, is pleading for attention on the part of the audience:

> Atendite, quaeso, atque animum aduortite,
> dum nomen huius eloquor statariae,
> aequom est uos deo facere silentium.[7]

This prologue is commonly held by authorities as spurious,[8] and is omitted from most editions. The Delphine edition, commenting on the use of *stataria* here, has the following: "Statariae fabulae a stantibus histrionibus, uel saltem placide sese mouentibus, representabantur; motoriae quae ab histrionibus discursantibus tumultuantibusque exhibebantur. Haec quamuis sit magna ex parte stataria, tamen in Mnesilocho, et patre eius Nicobolo, nonnihil est motoriae. Videlicet, quando ille totam restituit pecuniam patri, hic uero quando sese fraudatum pecunia intellegit, non longe abest uterque a motoriae agitatione."[9]

[4] Brutus, 30, 116.
[5] Brutus, 68, 239.
[6] Quin. 11, 3, 178.
[7] Bacch. vv. 9-11.
[8] Vid. Leo, *op. cit.*, p. 176. Ritschl, *Parerga*, I, pp. 180 ff., Trautwein, *de prologorum Plaut. indole et natura*.
[9] Delph. edit. *ad loc.*



If this prologue were genuine it would carry great weight in establishing *stataria* as marking a classification of comedy. If it was written by the poet Petrarch, as some writers have supposed, it is of too late a date to be of any more value than the evidence of Donatus and the other commentators.

Granting that the case in the Bacchides is spurious, there is but one instance of the use of *stataria* applied to a play, and around this any discussion of the meaning of the word must revolve; for *motoria* does not occur at all, and was seemingly invented as a literary term by the commentators themselves. The single genuine use is in the prologue to the Hautontimorumenos of Terence. Ambivius Turpio, as prologuist, is pleading for a quiet hearing on the part of the audience:

> adeste aequo animo, date potestatem mihi
> statariam agere ut liceat per silentium,
> ne semper seruos currens, iratus senex,
> edax parasitus, sycophanta autem impudens,
> auarus leno, assidue agendi mihi
> clamore summo, cum labore maxumo.[10]

"Attend to me with candor; give me the privilege of being allowed to act a quiet play without interruption; that it may not always be the case that a running footman, an angry old man, a greedy parasite, and then an impudent sycophant, a grasping pimp, have to be again and again performed at the top of my voice, with the most extreme exertion. For my sake persuade yourselves that this is a fair plea, in order that some part of the labour may be lessened for me." (Schuckburgh's Trans.)

The commentary of Donatus on the Hautontimorumenos is lacking. Eugraphius has the following: "quidem 'statariam' genus esse putant comoediae, ut statariae comoediae sint, in quibus sunt stantes, unde hanc statariam nominant. mihi, autem, uidetur 'statariam agere liceat per silentium' ideo dixisse, ut perpetuo et stabiliter agatur haec comoedia neque populi adversis suffragis foras pellatur. ideo enim adiecit 'ut liceat per silentium,' et subiungit 'ne semper seruos currens, iratus senex, etc., assiduo agendi sint clamore summo cum labore maxumo.' haec autem quae nunc nominauit, propria uidentur personarum, nam serui officium est currere, senis irasci; parasitus autem edax est, impudens sycophanta, leno auarus est; 'ergo si quae propria sermonis

[10] Hauton. vv. 35-40.

sunt et quae necesse habeo ex necessitate personarum complere, debetis mihi fauere potius quam aduerso suffragio contra facere.'"[11] According to this, a *stataria* is a play which the audience does not interrupt, one which is allowed to stand. This "quiet" play is to be the result of the attentive attitude of the audience.

The following context is to be noted:

> nam nunc qui scribunt, nil parcunt seni:
> si quae laboriosast, ad me curritur:
> si lenis est, ad alium defertur gregem.
> in hac est pura oratio. experimini,
> in utramque partem ingenium quid possit meum.[12]

Long and Macleane paraphrase thus: "Make experiment of what my talents can effect in both ways, both in the *motoria* and in the *stataria*. I've been tried in the Eunuchus, see now what I can do in a very different style."

Donatus, in opposition to Eugraphius, applies the terms *stataria* and *motoria* to the subject matter of the plays themselves. On the Andria:

"haec maiori ex parte motoria est."

"hic πρότασις subtilis, ἐπίτασις tumultuosa, καταστροφή paene tragica, et tamen repente ex his turbis in tranquillum peruenitur."[13]

On the Eunuchus:

"quam Menander de facto adulescentis, qui se pro eunucho deduci ad meretricem passus est. itaque ex magna parte motoria est."

"haec et πρότασις et ἐπίτασις et καταστροφή ita aequales habet ut nusquam dicas longitudine operis Terentium delassatum dormitasse."[14]

On the Adelphoe:

"huius tota actio cum sit mixta ex utroque genere, ut fere Terentianae omnes praeter Hautontimorumenon, tamen maiori ex parte motoria est; nam statarios locos perpaucos habet."

"hic locus secundum artem comicam seruum currentem exprimit et nuntiantem mala. Maxima itaque pars scaenae motoria est."[15]

[11] Eugraphius Hauton. Prol. 36, 37.
[12] Hauton vv. 43-47.
[13] Donat. And. Praef. I, 2, and 5.
[14] Praef. I. 2.
[15] Adel. Praef. I. 2. III, 2, 1.



On the Hecyra:

"est autem mixta motoriis ac statariis"

"atque in hac πρότασις turbulenta est, ἐπίτασις molior, lenis καταστροφή."[16]

On the Phormio:

"haec igitur prope tota motoria est."

"in ea, cum et πρότασις et ἐπίτασις et καταστροφή magni moliminis et negotii sint, ita uariis leporibus asperguntur, ut etiam rerum tristium grauitatem poeta lepidus comica serenitate tranquillet."[17]

Donatus applies the adjectives *statarius* and *motorius* also to a *modus agendi*:

"ipsi senes in statario charactere partem aperient, in motorio partem ostendent. nam duo agendi sunt principales modi, motorius et statarius, ex quibus nascitur qui dicitur mixtus."[18]

Euanthius defines the terms in harmony with Donatus: "comoediae motoriae sunt aut statariae aut mixtae. motoriae turbulentae, statariae quietiores, mixtae ex utroque actu consistentes."[19]

Modern editors accept the definitions of Donatus and Euanthius, though they vary somewhat in their classification of Terence's plays under *statariae*, *motoriae* and *mixtae*. Schuckburgh remarks: "A *fabula stataria* was a play which involved little action, but was conducted principally by the dialogue." Ribbeck has the following on the Hautontimorumenos: "Im Ganzen nimmt das Stück einen ruhigen Verlauf: es ist eine sogenannte *fabula stataria*; besonders die Titelrolle, von dem schon bejahrten Ambivius Turpio gespielt, erforderte wenig Anstrengung."[20] Teuffel calls the Captivi of Plautus *stataria*: "a pathetic piece . . . . . without active interest (stataria)."[21] Long and Macleane: "A play was said to be *stataria* when its action was quiet, as the Hecyra and Hautontimorumenos: as a species of the *motoria* or active play, where the action was bustling and busy, we may take the Eunuchus and Phormio, while the Andria and Adelphoe may be said to belong to the class *mixta*, where we have a union of moralizing and action."[22] Ashmore abides by this grouping and adds:

[16] Hec. Praef. I, 2. and 5.
[17] Phorm. Praef. I, 2, and 5.
[18] Ad Adel. v. 24.
[19] Euanth. IV, 4.
[20] *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung*, I, 141.
[21] Teuffel and Schwabe. I, 97, 4.
[22] Ad Hauton. 36.

"Ambivius does not wish to be obliged to always act in a *fabula motoria*, to which the characters enumerated (Haut. 37 ff.) would chiefly belong. Such parts required stentorian lungs and exertion on the part of the actor, if he wished to make himself heard above the din of laughter and applause and general disturbance which the livelier dramas usually called forth."[23]

But these characters enumerated by Terence make up the *dramatis personae* of Terence's comedy generally and furnish no basis for drawing a distinction between the plays. There is in Terence no more typical example of the *iratus senex* than in the Hautontimorumenos itself: Chremes is the embodiment of such a character; and this person is entirely absent from the Eunuchus. Laches does not approximate him. Geta of the Phormio is more moderate as a *servos currens* than Syrus of the Hautontimorumenos and Adelphoe, or Davos of the Andria. These three, last mentioned, are in fact the boldest of Terence's creation. The *avarus leno* is found in the Adelphoe as well as in the Phormio, and Sannio is the more boisterous of the two. The *edax parasitus* is by chance only present in the Eunuchus and the Phormio; but Donatus calls only the Hautontimorumenos unreservedly *stataria*. Teuffel states: "According to this (commentary of Euanthius) the Plautine plays are nearly all *motoriae*, the Terentian mostly *mixtae*."[24]

As to Ribbeck's remark that Ambivius assumed the rôle of Menedemus in the Hautontimorumenos, is it not more likely that he took the part of Chremes? Is it likely that he would choose the part of Laches in the Eunuchus simply because it was a subordinate part? On such reasoning any play could be made out to be a "quiet" play from the point of view of Ambivius.

Neither do the plots of Terence's plays, any more than the characters, admit of arbitrary classifications of this sort. But, if a choice must be made between the Andria and Hautontimorumenos, one would not hesitate to take the latter as the livelier of the two. The Hautontimorumenos is, in fact, one of the most boisterous of Terence's plays. The admission of Bacchis and her retinue of attendants, the dispatching of Clinia to the country, the anger of the old man Chremes in the last acts of the play, the scheming activity of the slave Syrus, make this comedy as lively as others of Terence's plays. In general the incidents of the story in the vari-

[23] Ad Hauton. 37-40.

[24] Teuffel and Schwabe, I, 16, 2.



ous plays are so similar that such a classification as claimed by the commentators and editors is not only unsatisfactory but well-nigh impossible; and certainly the Hautontimorumenos will not afford the typical example of the play "without active interest."

Cicero, in specifically calling actors *statarii*, lends appropriate application of the adjective to a manner of acting—a *modus agendi*. Thus supported, the comment of Donatus, "duo agendi sunt principales modi, motorius et statarius," may be accepted as accurate. But it is not possible to suppose that Terence wrote the Hautontimorumenos in order to exemplify a *modus agendi*, though it is true that the play and the acting usually harmonize. A style of acting, for us, hardly determines the nature of a play; and, besides, the commentators support their classification by the nature of the plot and the characters. If the Hautontimorumenos is a "quiet play," a *stataria*, all of Terence's comedies are *statariae*; but any attempt to classify them as *statariae* and *motoriae* is futile, and the difference of opinion on the part of the editors is accounted for.

Yet Terence makes Ambivius say: "Try what my genius can effect in either way." Granting that *stataria* marks a *genus comoediae*, the other style of play-writing had been seen in not a play of Terence at all; Ambivius is making a special plea for himself: "I have," he says, "been performing in other plays than those of Terence—those of Caecilius and possibly those of Plautus. Now try me in one of Terence's, and let it not meet the fate of the Hecyra, the last play that I attempted to present from the hand of Terence and which you were unkind enough to hoot from the stage." The application of Donatus within the comedies of Terence will not hold because the Hautontimorumenos is no more static than others of this author. Nor does the division of characters made by Quintilian point to the Hautontimorumenos as a play that would, better than any other of Terence, suit the powers of Demetrius, for example. We have the *acer senex* and the *callidus seruos*. "In hac est pura oratio." "This is a Terentian play; note its pure diction; like others of our author, it is a 'library' play—not a Plautine production." As a matter of fact, there is in Terence no such character as the *sycophanta impudens*; nor was there any *avarus leno* till the Phormio came out—two years after the Hautontimorumenos.

The comment of Eugraphius would seem to be more than a literary curiosity. In critical points Eugraphius has not been highly rated. Schanz remarks: "Der Zweck dieses Commentars ist die rhetorische Kunst des Terenz darzulegen. Dies setzt aber das Verständnis des Auctors voraus; es werden daher auch erklärende Bemerkungen gegeben. Die rhetorischen Bemerkungen haben für die Geschichte der Rhetorik und des Unterrichts einige Bedeutung."[25] Long and Macleane say: "The commentary of Donatus is lacking and we cannot understand Terence's meaning. We still have the diffuse paragraphs of Eugraphius." In this passage of Eugraphius, however, there is little of the rhetorical. He calls attention to the fact that the characters enumerated by the prologuist belong not especially to any class of plays, but to Latin comedy in general; and that, since Ambivius is pleading for a quiet hearing for himself, the natural, not a technical, signification should be attached to *stataria*. Ashmore attempts to bridge the gap between the commentators when he speaks of the "din of laughter and applause and general disturbance which the livelier drama usually called forth." But to make *stataria* apply both to the play and to the audience is, to say the least, making a very wide definition, and it still remains to show how the Hautontimorumenos is more restrained than the Adelphoe, Phormio, Andria, and Eunuchus; for the Hecyra seems to be the only other Terentian play that Donatus and the editors have consigned to the fate of resting in a cemetery of dry bones, while Donatus calls even it *mixta*.

The immediate context is easily in harmony with Eugraphius. The later context is not so evidently so:

> nam nunc qui scribunt nil parcunt seni:
> si quae laboriosast, ad me curritur;
> si lenis, ad alium defertur gregem.
> in hac est pura oratio. experimini
> in utramque partem ingenium quid possit meum.[26]

Eugraphius, however, would not connect the play designated *lenis* with *stataria* at all: "quoniam sic dixerat, laboriosas potius comoedias ad se deferri, levis ad alium, ne praeiudicium huic comoediae fecisse uideretur, quod ipse dixit illam laboriosam, aut exinde iam ut superius a populo iudicari posset, adiecit 'in hac pura est oratio.' non omnes aequali modo utrumque possunt et leuia et grauia complere. ita ait 'in utramque partem': quondam

[25] *Handb. der klass. Altertumsw.* VIII, I, 1. 157.
[26] Hauton. vv. 43-47.



semper in asperioribus comprobastis, nunc quoque leuioribus nosse debetis."[27]

The tone of Eugraphius' remark that "some think a *stataria* is a kind of comedy" indicates that the meaning of the word here was not established in the commentators' day, and that definite authority on which to base their criticism was lacking. Evidence in support of Eugraphius would seem to outweigh the claim of the other commentators. This evidence may be summarized: the similarity of the Hautontimorumenos, as to characters and plot, to the other plays; the context accompanying the use of *stataria* in the Hautontimorumenos; the absence of the word as applied to a department of literature; the total lack of *motoria*. No one reading the translation of Schuckburgh, would suppose that this "quiet play" had a technical signification within it: "Give me the privilege of acting a quiet play without interruption; that I may not always be compelled to act the parts in a Latin comedy at the top of my voice, with the most extreme exertion." And the prologue ends (as paraphrased by Ashmore): "show by your conduct toward an old man that young men may reasonably hope for a quiet hearing."

That *statarius* was applied to actors and orators would, of course, imply that parts within a play might be designated as *stataria*; or that one playwright's work was more lively than another's. The plays of Plautus are, to be sure, more boisterous than those of Terence; and parts of Terence's work are more lively than other parts. But everyone familiar with Terence knows that the sameness of plot, incident, and characters is the weakness of his work. It is impossible to find two kinds of dramatic art within his plays.

Only the Andria and the Hecyra had been presented by Terence before the Hautontimorumenos; at least, according to the didascalia and Donatus the Hautontimorumenos preceded the Eunuchus by two years.[28] If the Hautontimorumenos followed the complete failure of the Hecyra, the comment of Eugraphius has especial point. It need hardly be added that commentators are fond of finding technicalities.

GEORGE KENNETH HENRY.

The University of North Carolina.

[27] Eugraphius Prol. Hauton. 36-46.
[28] Vid. Dziatzko-Hauler's *Phormio*, Einleit. p. 16.

A TYPE OF VERBAL REPETITION IN OVID'S ELEGY

Latin elegy reached its final stage of formal development in the poetry of Ovid. The characteristic Roman tendency to reduce the metrical vehicle to sharply defined and rather inelastic laws had revealed itself clearly in his predecessors, but it waited for its culmination until Ovid had applied his extraordinary genius for rhythm and meter. By him the rhythmic formula of the couplet is worked out to completion in all its details.

The most obvious features of this formula, aside from certain purely metrical details, are the clear-cut division of each line—and especially of the pentameter—into halves by the regular placing of the main cæsura, and the exact coincidence of grammatical sentence and couplet. Or, viewing the couplet rather than the line as the unit of the verse-form, each group is made to resolve itself into four parts, each of which is, as exactly as may be, a half line; and with the conclusion of the four rhythmical parts falls also the conclusion of the grammatical sentence. Naturally, too, the subordinate parts of the grammatical sentence tend to coincide with the four rhythmical parts. One statement succeeds another in a continuous series, each rhythmically like the preceding, pauses almost invariably in the same places, and the rise and fall of sentences identically distributed over the eleven feet of the group, at whose conclusion they too must end.

It is not to be understood from this general description that the formula of the line or of the couplet is invariable. As a matter of fact, only one of the characteristics mentioned is invariable—namely, the equal division of the pentameter line. But the occasional departures from the scheme are so infrequent and of such slight force that the effect of a fixed formula produced upon the reader is not thereby materially weakened. On the contrary, the variations from the rule serve often to emphasize its fixed character, on the principle that exceptions prove the rule. And considered in the light of certain metrical features like the regularity of the dissyllabic close of the half-line of the pentameter and of such traits as middle rhyme in both hexameter and pentameter, the variations seem quite accidental. In short, in spite of insignificant variations, it becomes almost impossible to read the elegy of Ovid in any other way than in accordance with the formula described. And when rhyme is added, one is even tempt-

ed to depart altogether from a hexameter-pentameter theory, and to write it as a quatrain, thus:

Nempe favore suae
Vicit tamen ille puellae.
Vincamus dominae
Quisque favore suae. (Am. 3, 2, 17-18).

But it is with the effect of the formula rather than with its laws and exceptions that we are here concerned. The most pronounced effect, it seems to me, is that of monotony. One feels, as one reads, that the mould into which the expression of thought is to be poured for shaping is of much more importance to the poet than the thought which is to be shaped. The form overbalances the matter. And where form has been reduced, under these circumstances, to formula, monotony is the result. The ease and smoothness with which Ovid accomplished his object is admirable in the extreme, and is of the very essence of the power of one who could not speak in prose. But a more or less rigid formula in any verse-form which is made up of short units like the couplet or the quatrain inevitably results in a deadening monotony. Once the formula is devised, however great the skill may be with which the poet applies his thought to it, he is still but following the line of least resistance in confining himself to it. It soon becomes the easiest thing to do—a rhythmical habit, so to speak—to make statement and couplet coextensive. If it is true, as is often said, that the poet's thought or emotion dictates, in the first instance, the verse-form he shall use, it is equally true, on the other hand, that the rhythm of his verse-form, once selected, influences, or rather, determines the grouping of the successive thoughts when they find expression in words, in such fashion, at least, that the thought group and the rhythm group shall be co-terminous. Hence the failure, for example, of a couplet form to satisfy the requirements of narrative or dramatic verse. Neither story nor action can be forced with any degree of naturalness to come to full stops at regular intervals; and the narrative or dramatic poet who adopts such a form finds himself constantly struggling against the compelling force of the couplet end. For if he yields, he knows that a hopeless monotony will be the result. It is true that in the elegy the monotony of the couplet is a matter of less moment, because the poem is partly lyrical in character and is usually short. But, on the other hand, elegy—and especially Ovid's *Heroides*, *Ars Amatoria*, *Fasti*, and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*—possesses also many of the characteristics of narrative poetry; and just to the

extent that it does so, it suffers from such traits as beget monotony in the same fashion as epic verse does. And monotony even in a short poem is still monotony.[1]

It is not, then, for his skill in perfecting his formula and in successfully fitting his thought to the formula that we give praise to Ovid as a maker of verses. It is, rather, for the brilliant skill of many sorts with which he emphasizes the charming qualities of the formula and at the same time relieves and offsets the unpleasant ones. Being a Roman, he must develop and abide strictly by the laws of his art; being a poet, he is able through many inventions to render attractive the stern necessities which the laws lay upon him.

The quality which more than any other affords us pleasure when we read his elegy is, of course, his keen understanding of the human material with which he deals. But this would be obscured and in part lost to us, if it were not for the brilliant wit which enables him to present this material with so much humor, simplicity, and force. It is his quick wit which guides him to the fine use of a hundred devices of rhetoric to relieve the monotony of the formula, and it is his unfailing sense of humor which keeps the devices within their proper bounds. Under the play of these things the monotony of the verse structure is almost forgotten. Verse division and couplet end are made to serve the figure of speech by throwing upon it a strong emphasis which would have been lost, if verse division and couplet end had not been the rule.

Of the rhetorical devices employed for such purposes none is handled more skillfully than that of verbal repetition. Ovid is easily a master in the use of this very tricky figure. His sweep is unlimited; there is no variety of it unknown to him.[2] I have selected but a single form of it for the purpose not only of illustrating his skill in its use, but also, in view of what has been said, of showing how he employs it in harmony with the laws of his formula.

The variety selected is that of repetition within the line which involves a change of inflection in the word repeated. The frequency of its occurrence is surprising, and the poet reveals such remarkable skill

[1] It is no doubt this quality which led v. Wilamowitz to describe Ovid's verse with the word "Klappermühle." Cf. Ehwald in *Jahresbericht* 109 (1901), p. 233: "Ovid hat sein Distichon so gebaut, dass der grammatische Satz mit ihm zusammenfällt: v. Wilamowitz hat dies mit einem scharfen Wort 'die Klappermühle des ovidischen Distichons' genannt."

[2] Vid. Poteat, *Repetition in Latin Poetry*, New York, 1912, p. 25 ff.



in the handling of it that a more systematic examination of it than it has yet received seems worth while.[3]

The words selected for repetition in altered forms are necessarily limited to those parts of speech which are subject to inflection: the noun, the adjective, the verb. Every possible combination of cases or of numbers is found in the treatment of declension, and in adjectives any mixture of the forms of comparison. The same freedom prevails in the repetition of verbs, but, of course, over a much wider field. The limitations imposed by the sense of the passage, not by any principle of exclusion applied to the repetition itself, are the only ones discoverable. The following examples must suffice to indicate the nature of this interplay of forms.

> Heu! melior quanto sors tua sorte mea (Am. 1, 6, 46).
> Quae movet ardores, est procul; ardor adest (Am. 2, 16, 12).
> Nec timor unus erat, facies non una timoris (A. A. 1, 121).
> Cum sequitur fortes fortior ipsa feras (Am. 2, 2, 32).
> Tange manu mensam, tangunt quo more precantes (Am. 1, 4, 27).
> Cum surges abitura domum, surgemus et omnes (Am. 1, 4, 55).
> Quod mihi das furtim, iure coacta dabis (Am. 1, 4, 64).
> Quid timeam, ignoro; timeo tamen omnia demens (Her. 1, 71).
> Utque ego te cupio, sic cupiere puellae (Her. 16, 93).
> Promittas, facito! quid enim promittere laedit (A. A. 1, 443).[4]

Nor is there any absolute restriction in the matter of the positions in the line occupied by the two forms of the repeated word. Examples are found of the word in one or the other of its forms in any foot of either the hexameter or the pentameter, and, in the case of monosyllables, of both forms in the same foot. But it is interesting to note here certain prevailing positions in the line which bespeak not so much the poet's arbitrary choice as his feeling for the natural place in the line where the very emphasis which is sought by repetition may best be secured.

For the hexameter the favored arrangement is to conclude the first half of the line with the word and to repeat it in its altered form just before the last word of the line; i. e., its first occurrence is just

[3] Editors comment on instances of it. Poteat, *op. cit.*, groups it with other varieties. Schütze, *Quaestionum Ovidianarum Pars I* in *Jahresbericht ü. d. städt. Progymnasium*, Spandau. 1861, p. 14, cites a few examples. Loewe, *De nonnullis figuris quibus poet. Lat. utuntur*, Grimae, 1863, p. 24, cites several examples from the Metamorphoses, and on p. 27 observes: "habemus enim polyptoton, aut in duo pluresque versus distributum, aut in uno coniunctum."

[4] These few examples fail hopelessly to give even an approximate idea of the variety and extent of the inflectional change. But limited space forbids reproducing even the references, nor would it be worth while, since any reader may find full enough illustration within a few pages of Ovid selected at random.

before the principal cæsura, its second in the fourth and fifth feet, or in the fifth foot alone, especially if the last word of the line is dissyllabic. Thus:

Haec mihi contigerat, sed vir non contigit illi (Am. 3, 7, 43).[5]

Almost as common as this postponement of the repeated word is the immediate repetition in juxtaposition, usually at the end of the first half-line and at the beginning of the second. Thus:

Quo fugis? obstat hiemps. hiemis mihi gratia prosit (Her. 7, 41).[6]

It is difficult to say which of the two most frequent arrangements is the more effective. What is gained by the contrast of an altered form immediately repeated in the one is offset by a more pleasing rhythm in the handling of the word in the other.

Juxtaposition is by no means confined to the position noted, although it is much less frequent in other positions. It is found also before the principal cæsura, as in:

Cum surgit, surges; donec sedet illa, sedebis (A. A. 1, 503);[7]

and after the principal cæsura, as in:

Cedant carminibus reges regumque triumphi (Am. 1, 15, 33).[8]

It occurs rather rarely at the ends of lines, as in

Cumque tot his (sed non opus est tibi coniuge) coniunx (Her. 3, 37).[9]

Other favored positions for the two words are the ends of each half-line, as in

Si brevis es, sedeas, ne stans videare sedere (A. A. 3, 263).[10]

and the beginnings of each half-line, as in

Tange manu mensam, tangunt quo more precantes (Am. 1, 4, 27).[11]

One would think that the first place and the last place in the line would tempt to a device of this sort because of the rather compelling emphasis which could thus be secured. But such arrangement is very rare:

Vivimus, et non sum, Theseu, tua, si modo vivit (Her. 10, 75).[12]

[5] Other examples are Am. 2, 19, 51; A. A. 1, 397; Her. 2, 7; Trist. 3, 10, 31; Ex. Pont. 1, 4, 55; Fast. 2, 65; et al.

[6] Other examples are Am. 3, 2, 59; A. A. 1, 63; Her. 2, 95; Trist. 1, 3, 99; Ex. Pont. 1, 2, 127; Fast. 2, 65; et al.

[7] Other examples are Am. 3, 15, 15; A. A. 1, 645; Her. 4, 109; Trist. 2, 401; Ex. Pont. 1, 10, 23; Fast. 1, 217; et al.

[8] Other examples are Her. 8, 115; Trist. 3, 11, 49; 4, 7, 15; Ex. Pont. 1, 4, 53; 1, 5, 29; Fast. 1, 287; et al.

[9] Other examples are Her. 5, 59; Trist. 4, 3, 65; Ex Pont. 4, 7, 43; Fast. 1, 553.

[10] Other examples are Am. 1, 8, 89; A. A. 1, 255; Trist. 5, 13, 7; Ex Pont. 3, 1, 47; et al.

[11] Other examples are Am. 3, 3, 7; Her. 8, 61; Trist. 5, 2, 71; Ex Pont. 3, 1, 47; et al.

[12] Another example, Trist. 2, 9.



In the pentameter, on the other hand, the favored position for the repeated word is at the end of each half-line, as in

Et, qua tu biberis, hac ego parte bibam (Am. 1, 4, 32).[13]

This was to be expected, since Ovid's almost unvarying division of the pentameter into two equal halves throws all the stress of the line on these two commanding positions.

Next to this arrangement is the one, common also in the hexameter, of juxtaposition at the end of the first half-line and at the beginning of the second. Thus:

Ille tenet palmam: palma petenda meast (Am. 3, 2, 82).[14]

Rather frequent is the juxtaposition in the second half of the line, and, unlike the hexameter, often at the end, as in

Causa fuit multis noster amoris amor (Am. 3, 11, 20);[15]

and more rarely before the penthemimeral cæsura, as in

Posse capi; capies, tu modo tende plagas (A. A. 1, 270).[16]

Rather frequent is the arrangement whereby the word is placed at the beginning of each half-line, as in

Pax iuvat et media pace repertus amor (Am. 3, 2, 50).[17]

The plan favored for the hexameter of placing the word at the end of the first half-line and repeating it in the fifth foot occurs also in the pentameter, but much more rarely. An example of it may be seen in

Quotque fretum pisces, ovaque piscis habet (Trist. 4, 1, 56).[18]

From this summary of many hundreds of examples it will be seen that, while the usage in the hexameter differs from that in the pentameter, the principle determining the position of the repeated word in both cases is the same. One of two alternatives is the general rule: either the rhythmically emphatic positions in the line, like the beginning or end of each half, are used, or the word is thrown into sharp relief by having its two forms appear in juxtaposition at any point in the line. If juxtaposition can be combined with the rhythmically emphatic positions, the effectiveness of the repetition is increased to its highest point. And Ovid is abundantly skillful, as has been seen in the examples cited, in bringing about this desired combination.

[13] Other examples are Am. 2, 4, 20; A. A. 1, 140; Her. 2, 58; Ex Pont. 1, 7, 70; Fast. 1, 50; et al.
[14] Other examples are Am. 3, 3, 22; Her. 4, 64; Trist. 1, 1, 128; Ex Pont. 4, 12, 22; et al.
[15] Other examples are Am. 3, 3, 32; A. A. 1, 596; Her. 12, 198; Trist. 3, 4, 72; et al.
[16] Another example, Ex Pont. 4, 3, 12.
[17] Other examples are Trist. 1, 2, 104; Ex Pont. 1, 8, 30; et al.
[18] Another example, Trist. 1, 4, 28.

The variety so far considered is but the most elementary of those employed by Ovid. The poet is capable of a much richer and more complex elaboration of the figure than this. And such is his skill that the most elaborate forms have the same ease and fluency as the simplest. The reader is never conscious of the slightest halting, the slightest disturbance of the rhythm, the slightest effort of any sort on the part of the poet to work out a figure whose intricacies would be the despair of a most finished phrase-maker.

The second stage of development consists in the repetition of two words in the line, one with form changed and one with form unchanged. Examples in hexameter and pentameter, respectively, are

Et sibi pauca rogent: multos si pauca rogabunt (Am. 1, 8, 89);
Sola locat noctes, sola locanda venit (Am. 1, 10, 30).

It seems more or less unprofitable to discuss the arrangement of the words in the line in this form of repetition, because the range of possibility is necessarily quite limited by the length of the line. Since almost the whole of the line is taken up by the repeated words, it is practically a necessity to divide the pairs of words between the two halves of the line. There is a good deal of variation from this general statement, but it is not of such a nature as to make it worth while to illustrate. The matter reduces itself to a mere question of whether the identical order or the chiastic shall be employed within the pairs themselves, and whether the pairs shall stand in juxtaposition or be separated by intervening words. The identical order and the separation of the pairs by the intervention of another word are illustrated by the example

Sola locat noctes, sola locanda venit (Am. 1, 10, 30).[19]

This order is much more frequent than the chiastic. Sometimes the two words of one of the pairs are separated by the intervention of another word. When this is the case, a little is lost in emphasis, but on the whole the rhythmical effect is smoother than it is when the words of each pair stand together. An example is

Pax Cererem nutrit, pacis alumna Ceres (Fast. 1, 704).

The chiastic order and the juxtaposition of the pairs of words are illustrated in

Spectabat terram: terram spectare decebat (Am. 2, 5, 43).

The most celebrated line of this description in Ovid is

Spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae (A. A. 1, 99).

[19] Other examples are Am. 1, 8, 89; A. A. 1. 262; Her. 2, 143; Ex Pont. 3, 4, 112; et al.

Schwering,[20] in a very full and interesting appreciation of the line, calls attention to the chiastic order, to the occurrence of the pairs of words in separate halves of the line, and to the charm of the surprise which results from the unexpected alteration of one of the words after the other has been effectively repeated without alteration. This quality of surprise belongs, though in varying degrees of effectiveness, it is true, to all lines which contain the double repetition. We feel it almost as keenly, for example, in

> Sola locat noctes, sola locanda venit.

Here the intervening word *noctes* and the identical word order within the pairs deprive the line of the suddenness of the change felt in the perfect example. Nevertheless, wherever an altered form follows an unaltered form, we are of necessity held in suspense and made subject to surprise until the line is completed. Very often, when the wit is not so ready as in the lines quoted, it is not at all difficult to predict the second half of the line from the first half, but never in the very nature of the case is the second half a mere repetition of the thought of the first half.

Ovid sometimes gets much the same effect through a change of the part of speech in one of the words instead of the more usual inflectional change, as in

> Restat iter caeli; caelo temptabimus ire (A. A. 2, 37);[21]

or by using a different word altogether, not even etymologically related, and yet somehow enough like the same to produce the same impression. An excellent illustration of this effect is found in

> Non debet dolor hinc, debet abesse pudor (Trist. 4, 3, 62).

It is a still more intricate refinement of the repetition when both repeated words are made to undergo inflectional change, a variety most easily effected by a mere swapping of cases between the words, as in

> Speque timor dubia spesque timore cadit (Her. 9, 42).

The third stage of elaboration consists in the addition of a third word to the group to be repeated. As each word is added to such a group, it becomes increasingly difficult, of course, to multiply altered

[20] *De Ovidio et Menandro, Rhein. Mus.* 69 (1914), p. 233 ff. Schwering's purpose in examining this particular line is to show its derivation through Plautus from Menander. In view of the frequency with which Ovid employs the figure, and of his evident mastery of it, together with the rather commonplace, though witty, nature of the satire in the line, so characteristic of the poet, it seems quite daring to base an argument concerning source on such a foundation.

[21] Other examples are Am. 1, 9, 4; Rem. Am. 119.



forms. It is natural, therefore, to find that in most cases of triple repetition involving any change at all only one word undergoes inflectional change. An example,

Oscula aperta dabas, oscula aperta dabis (Her. 4, 144).

Somewhat more complex is the line

Hinc amor, hinc timor est; ipsum timor auget amorem (Her. 12, 61).

Here the charm lies in the broken balance of the two halves of the line and in the word grouping of each. In the first half, two emotions are set in opposition to each other with the aid of a single repetition; in the second, they are brought into unexpected harmony by means of a double repetition brought over from the first half, and by the alteration of a single case held till the last breath of the line.

Inflectional change in two of the three words occurs in

Quod sequitur, fugio; quod fugit, ipse sequor (Am. 2, 19, 36);

and inflectional change of all three words in

Tu tibi dux comiti, tu comes ipsa duci (Her. 14, 106).

If we should extend our consideration of the type of repetition we have been discussing beyond the limits of the single line, we would find an elaboration of the device which would defy description. But in so doing we would take away that very restriction of the short metrical group which, because it renders the achievement more difficult, for that very reason reveals the more clearly the poet's skill in rhythm and rhetoric. Indeed, there are countless instances in which the repetition is spread over the space of the couplet rather than of the line—and the couplet is, after all, the unit of elegy—and in these the poet secures about the same effect as in the more restricted field. But there are countless instances, too, in which the repetition is continued beyond the bounds of the couplet itself, sometimes beginning in the pentameter and concluding in the hexameter, sometimes passing beyond the couplet end into a third line—in both cases disregarding the very metrical unit of the verse-form. And the greater the number of lines, the greater the loss to the repetition in compactness, in antithesis, in charm. It finally ceases to be even interesting. The extent, however, to which Ovid can carry such repetition within the line through a short series of verses may at least be pointed out in so excellent an example as the following:

Arguet; arguito; quidquid probat illa, probato!
Quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges!
Riserit: adride; si flebit, flere memento!
Imponat leges vultibus illa tuis!
Seu ludet numerosque manu iactabit eburnos,
Tu male iactato, tu male iacta dato! (A. A. 2, 199-204).



As has been said, the frequency with which repetition of this description occurs throughout the elegy of Ovid is surprising. There is hardly a page without one or more instances of it, and some passages, like that just quoted, seem little more than elaborate series of antitheses made up of this complex word-play. This is especially the case with the elegy of the first period devoted to the conventional erotic themes. In the period of exile when his elegy is given up to other matters, the poet makes much rarer use of it in any form, and almost none at all in its highly developed complexities. This difference between the two periods in frequency of use is due not to any loss of skill on Ovid's part, nor, on the other hand, to any definite development of his art, but, rather, to the complete change of mood and of subject matter which came about as a result of his public disgrace. Such play with words is totally out of harmony with the seriousness and the personal bitterness of his later poetry.

The uses to which the poet puts the device are obvious. Very often repetition in this form, as in other forms, is no more than a mere necessity in the expression of the thought. A given word, not its substitute or synonym, must be repeated in order to complete the statement. There is no emotional quality in it, no intellectual skill: anything else would be incorrect or unsatisfying.

Occasionally, on the other hand, the purpose of the repetition is purely that of emotional emphasis. In this use it is found most frequently in such poems as the *Heroides*, whose tone is wholly serious notwithstanding much that is patently artificial. The effect is illustrated by such lines as

> Cumque tuis lacrimis lacrimas confundere nostras (Her. 2, 95),
> Tristis abis; oculis abeuntem prosequor udis (Her. 12, 55).

Here the sense would have been complete without the repetition, but the emotion has been infinitely deepened by the iteration of the one word in the line which gives clearest expression to the feeling of the line. And one feels that the very change in the inflectional form also in a word of such importance is a decided addition to the emotional emphasis.

In these two uses it may be said that the poet is unconscious of any play on words. There is no place for tricking the reader by a deliberate juggling. The one case is simply a satisfying of the requirements of clear statement; the other is a sincere attempt to reproduce in words a very real feeling in the poet's heart or in the heart of a character created by the poet.

But these two uses are not the main ones. A certain humorous—one might almost say, comic—element enters into the greater number of instances. It becomes then a conscious juggling with words, a trial of skill on the part of the poet to see what he can accomplish in witty antithesis. It is wholly rhetorical, in the sense that it is an artificial invention to catch and to hold the reader's attention, not natural to straightforward expression. One is tempted to describe it by the adjective "clever" and to imagine that one catches a glimpse of the twinkling eyes of the author as he writes.[22] It lends itself finely to the light form of satire which characterizes the *Ars Amatoria,* and to the preceptorial quality of all his elegy. It is a bright form of playfulness which finds its natural place in the period of youth and of adventure rather than in that of a broken spirit.

George Howe.

The University of North Carolina.

[22] Ribbeck, *Geschichte d. röm. Dichtung*, II, 338, writes: "Noch weiter geht das Wohlgefallen an wörtlicher oder wenig veränderter Wiederholung zweier halber oder auch ganzer Verse unmittelbar hintereinander, welche den Eindruck der Einfachheit, des natürlichen Plaudertones, der Märchenweise bisweilen auch eines neckischen Scherzes, eines Wortspieles machen soll."

VOLUME XIII NUMBER 2

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1916

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

"ORDINARY NORTH-CAROLINESE," OR "I HAD RATHER STAY THAN *TO* GO WITH YOU"

In *Studies in English Syntax*, written during my stay at the University of North Carolina, I had occasion to say of a certain idiom: "It has not, however, entirely fallen into disuse. It may be heard in 'I had rather stay than *to* go with you' and similar sentences." The point to be observed in this sentence is that "to" is, of course, omitted before "stay" but emerges before "go." In a review of *Studies in English Syntax*, published in *Englische Studien*, XXXVII, 217-220, Mr. C. T. Onions, author of *An Advanced English Syntax* and an active member of the staff of the Oxford English Dictionary, fell foul of my illustrative sentence and declared: "Such a sentence is possibly ordinary North-Carolinese, but it is not English."

Mr. Onions, it will be observed, not only denies that "I had rather stay than *to* go with you" is good English but affirms with the utmost assurance that it is not English at all. As the idiom is Shakesperean and has not hitherto been listed in works on syntax, the following citations arranged alphabetically are submitted with the view not merely of vindicating what Mr. Onions is pleased to call "ordinary North-Carolinese" but of illustrating once more how unwise and how perilous it is even for a worker on the great Oxford English Dictionary to be unduly dogmatic or wantonly cocksure about a subject as difficult and as delicate as English syntax:

Bible: "I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, than *to* dwell in the tents of wickedness forever." (*Psalms* 84:10. No change is made in the Revised Version of 1884.)

The Boy and the Mantle:

"I had rather be in a wood,
Under a greene tree,
Then in King Arthur's court
Shamed *for to* be."

(This is ballad No. 29 in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* and follows the Percy MS.)

Bryan, Wm. J.: "I would rather have my name go down in history as a man who fought for clean politics than *to* have it registered on the roll of Presidents" (*Washington Herald*, April 10, 1911. "He added," continues the *Herald*, "that many parsons would rather

keep silent on a certain subject than *to* run the risk of losing their pulpits").

Burke, Edmund: "I deceive myself indeed most grossly if I had not much rather pass the remainder of my life hidden in the recesses of the deepest obscurity . . . than *to* be placed on the most splendid throne of the universe, tantalized with a denial of the practice of all which can make the greatest situation any other than the greatest curse" (*Speech at the Guildhall*, Bristol, Sept. 6, 1780).

Cable, Geo. W.: "Seems to me as if some of these old Creoles would liever live in a crawfish hole than *to* have a neighbor" (*Jean-ah Poquelin*).

Caxton: "Rather he wold have deyed than *to* have falsed his feyth ayenst her" (*Blanchardyn* c. 1489, 122, 16).

Collier, Price: "The sailors and the stokers would rather obey captain and officers, however they may have been chosen for them, than *to* be sunk at sea" (*Germany and the Germans*, 1913, p. 425).

Cotton, Charles: "There is not a man amongst them who had not rather be killed and eaten than so much as *to* open his mouth" (*Translation of Montaigne's Essays*, 1700, p. 137).

Dodd, Wm. E.: "Most thoughtful men would rather have written Rhodes' *History of the American Civil War* than *to* have been the president for life of the American steel trust" (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, April 1913, p. 119).

Gismond of Salerne: "Rather I will consent unto my death than so *to* spend my dayes in pining woe" (1567, II, 2, 50).

Goldsmith, Oliver: "Caesar was heard to say that he had rather die once by treason than *to* live continually in apprehension of it" (*Roman History*, 1769).

Grady, Henry W.: "I had rather see my people render back this question rightly solved than *to* see them gather all the spoils over which faction has contended since Catiline conspired and Caesar fought" (*The Race Problem in the South*, delivered in Boston, Dec. 13, 1889).

Hall, Bishop Joseph: "The Israelites had better have wanted their quailes than *to* have eaten them with such sauce" (*Works*, ed. 1648, p. 45).

Harris, Joel Chandler: "Why, grandmother said she'd rather count the hairs on a tarrypin's back than *to* bother about the small things in a story" (*Uncle Remus and the Little Boy*, 1910, p. 53).



Henry, O.: "I'd better have gone back to Sleepy-town and died in a wild orgy of currant wine and buns than *to* have had this happen" (*The Head-Hunter*).

Ingersoll, Robert J.: "And I said, I would rather have been a poor French peasant, and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, than *to* have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great" (*On Napoleon*). "But he [Rutherford B. Hayes] did say this: 'I would go into this war if I knew I would be killed in the course of it rather than *to* live through it and *to* take no part in it" (*The Situation*, delivered in Chicago, Oct. 21, 1876).

Jefferson, Thomas: "I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than *to* see our bickerings transferred to others" (*Letter to John Taylor*, June 1798).

Jones, Rev. Sam P.: "I would rather have an old woman give me a pill and pray over it than *to* have a doctor who is an agnostic" (Geo. R. Stuart's *Famous Stories of Sam P. Jones*, 1908, p. 198).

Jonson, Ben: "No, I would rather she were of none then *to* be put to the trouble of it" (*The Silent Woman*, 1609, V. 3, 139).

Lee, Gerald Stanley: "I would rather have a few inferences on hand that I can live with every day than *to* have this one huge, voracious inference (the scientist's) which swallows all the others up" (*The Lost Art of Reading*, 1902, p. 107).

Lichefield, Nicholas: "I had rather die than *to* tarrie upon the same" (*The First Booke of the Historie*, etc., 1582, fol. 40 v.).

Lincoln, Abraham: "I would rather be defeated with this expression in the speech, and have it held up and discussed before the people, than *to* be victorious without it" (*Divided House Speech*, April 17, 1858).

Melusine: "Rather I wold dey than *to* suffre and see my peuple so murdryd" (c. 1500, 202, 22).

More, Sir Thomas: "They had rather let all their enemies scape than *to* follow them out of array" (*Utopia*, tr. by Robinson, II, 10).

Rolfe, W. J.: "If he [the young student] is incapable of thus making out the story as he goes along, he had better be sent back to the Lamb's *Tales*, which he probably read in his childhood, rather than *to* have a dry epitome of the plot as an introduction to the play when he has become old enough to study it" (*New York Times Saturday Review*, April 23, 1910, p. 229).

Sewall, Samuel: "I told her I had rather go to the Stone-House adjoining to her, than *to* come to her against her mind" (*Diary*, Oct. 12, 1718).

Shakespeare:

> "Brutus had rather be a villager
> Than *to* repute himself a son of Rome."
> (*Julius Cæsar*, 1, 2, 172.)

> "By heaven, I had rather coin my heart,
> And drop my blood for drachmas, than *to* wring
> From the hard hands of peasants their vile trash."
> (*Julius Cæsar*, 4, 3, 72.)

Smiles, Samuel: "Hume was accustomed to say that he would rather possess a cheerful disposition than with a gloomy mind *to* be the master of an estate of ten thousand a year" (*Self-Help*, cap. XII).

Stevenson, Robert Louis: "I would liever go with you to prison than *to* go free without you" (*The Black Arrow*, Davos Press ed., III, p. 49).

Tourgee, Albion W.: "I would go there sooner than *to* betray those who have trusted their lives and honor with me" (*A Fool's Errand*, 1879, p. 266).

Udall, Nicholas: "I will rather have my cote twentie times swinged, Than . . . not *to* be avenged" (*Ralph Roister Doister*, 1553, p. 38).

Washington, George: "I had rather you would provide claret . . . than *to* use my Madeira" (Owen Wister's *Seven Ages of Washington*, 1907, p. 7).

Whittier, J. G.: "I would rather see the sunset light streaming through the valley of the Merrimac than *to* look out for many months upon brick walls" (Leon H. Vincent's *American Literary Masters*, 1906, p. 260).

Wiley, Dr. Harvey W.: "I would rather do without fish at this season of the year than *to* eat that which had been kept in cold storage" (*The Outlook*, N. Y., April 12, 1913, p. 826).

Winship, Dr. A. E.: "Today I visited the Fair and would rather learn what I learned from three pigs out there than *to* know all that is in any book that you can read." (*The Morning News*, Dallas, Tex., Oct. 26, 1915).

Withers, Rev. Philip: "I had rather oppose prejudices than *to* contend against facts" (*Aristarchus*, ed. 1822, p. 197).

Wolfe, Gen. James: "I would rather be the author of that poem [Gray's *Elegy*] than *to* have the glory of beating the French to-morrow" (D. H. Montgomery's *Leading Facts of English History*, 1887, p. 320).

Worth, Nicholas: "I had rather publicly confess an error of youth than *to* do another man injustice (*The Southerner*, 1909, p. 263).

C. Alphonso Smith.

University of Virginia.

A PLATONIC PASSAGE IN SHAKESPEARE'S *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA*

Few passages from Shakespeare's less familiar plays have been more often cited and discussed than Ulysses' great speech about "degree" in *Troilus and Cressida* (I, iii, 75-137). The explicit statement therein contained of the aristocratic theory of subordination in government has necessarily been taken account of in every consideration of Shakespeare's political point of view. Yet no critic, so far as I am aware, has called attention to the fundamentally Platonic character of much of Ulysses' speculation, or more particularly to certain specific resemblances which may perhaps count as fresh evidence in the unsettled question of Shakespeare's direct knowledge of Plato.

The lines in question are as follows:

Uly. Troy, yet upon his basis, had been down,
And the great Hector's sword had lack'd a master,
But for these instances:
The specialty of rule hath been neglected;
And, look, how many Grecian tents do stand
Hollow upon this plain, so many hollow factions.
When that the general is not like the hive
To whom the foragers shall all repair,
What honey is expected? Degree being vizarded,
The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.
The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
Observe degree, priority, and place,
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form,
Office, and custom, in all line of order;
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
In noble eminence enthron'd and spher'd
Amidst the other; whose medicinable eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil,
And posts, like the commandment of a king,
Sans check to good and bad: but when the planets
In evil mixture to disorder wander,
What plagues and what portents! what mutiny!
What raging of the sea! shaking of earth!
Commotion in the winds! frights, changes, horrors,
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
The unity and married calm of states
Quite from their fixture! O, when degree is shak'd,
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
Then enterprise is sick! How could communities,
Degrees in schools, and brotherhoods in cities,

Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
The primogenitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns, sceptres, laurels,
But by degree, stand in authentic place?
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And, hark, what discord follows! each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy. The bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores
And make a sop of all this solid globe.
Strength should be lord of imbecility,
And the rude son should strike his father dead.
Force should be right; or rather, right and wrong,
Between whose endless jar justice resides,
Should lose their names, and so should justice too.
Then every thing includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And last eat up himself. Great Agamemnon,
This chaos, when degree is suffocate,
Follows the choking.
And this neglection of degree is it
That by a pace goes backward, in a purpose
It hath to climb. The general's disdain'd
By him one step below, he by the next,
That next by him beneath; so every step,
Exampled by the first pace that is sick
Of his superior, grows to an envious fever
Of pale and bloodless emulation:
And 'tis this fever that keeps Troy on foot,
Not her own sinews. To end a tale of length,
Troy in our weakness stands, not in her strength.

It should be noted first of all that the germ of this discourse is to be found in the second book of the Iliad, where Ulysses checks the Greeks, who have taken Agamemnon at his word and are rushing to the ships. I quote from Chapman's translation:[1]

Stay, wretch, be still,
And hear thy betters; thou art base, and both in power and skill
Poor and unworthy, without name in counsel or in war.
We must not all be kings. The rule is most irregular
Where many rule. One lord, one king propose to thee; and he
To whom wise Saturn's son hath given both law and empery
To rule the public, is that king.

[1] *Iliads* II, 169-175. It is generally agreed that Shakespeare made some use of Chapman's *Homer* in writing *Troilus and Cressida*. This parallel was called to my attention by Professor W. S. Bernard.



We may observe how Shakespeare has elaborated the simple Homeric idea—"let there be one king"—into a complex philosophical discourse in harmony with his conception of Ulysses as the type of profound and subtle councillor. The mere rule of practical wisdom has become a political theory, and in so doing has undergone an essential change. It is not simply that the state must have a single head, but that stability depends upon the preservation, each in its place, of the various orders, and this principle is supported by the idea that "degree" lies deep in the nature of things.

> The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
> Observe degree, priority, and place.

That the general conception of government expressed by Ulysses is all but universal in Renaissance political theory is well known.[2] The need of a firm government and of a strict preservation of social ranks was given special emphasis in Shakespeare's day owing to recent tendencies in England toward democratic thought. Tudor theorists supported by Italian writers like Machiavelli and Patrizi, are practically at one in condemning the irresponsible rule of the many. Thus Elyot in *The Governour* advocates monarchy as the ideal system and, following Plato, exhibits the dangers of democracy,[3] finding, like Shakespeare's Ulysses, confirmation for his theory in the order of nature. And Spenser demonstrates in the allegory of the giant with scales the fallacy of the doctrine of economic and political equality.[4]

The debt of Renaissance speculation of this sort to ancient political thought is obvious. *The Republic* and *The Politics* furnished later theorists with their best arguments and their chief authorities in their attempt to justify by reason what was already in practice the established social order. The general agreement, therefore, of Ulysses' ideas with the aristocratic principles of *The Republic* is significant only as showing that Shakespeare shared in the common heritage of ancient theory. Furthermore, the anti-democratic drift of the present passage is in harmony with Shakespeare's general point of view as shown in the mob scenes, where the aristocratic principle lies back of and colors the dramatic presentation. But whereas the

[2] See Lewis Einstein, *The Italian Renaissance in England*, chapter VII.

[3] Book I, chap. ii: "For lyke as the communes, if they fele some severitie, they do humbly serve and obaye, so when they embracyinge a licence refuse to be brydled they flynge and plunge: and if they once throwe downe theyr gouvernour, they ordre everythynge without justice, only with vengeance and crueltie. . . . For who can denie but that all thynge in heaven and erthe is gouverned by one God, and perpetuall ordre, by one providence? One Sonne ruleth over the day, and one Moone over the nyghte." There follows a description of the commonwealth of the bees as the type of a "just gouvernance."

[4] *Faerie Queene*, Book V, Canto ii, stanzas 30 ff.



precedents for Shakespeare's treatment of the many-headed multitude are, as Professor Tupper has recently shown,[5] literary and dramatic, the present passage and the kindred exposition of the organization of the state in Henry V, involving, as they do, elaborate argument in support of the aristocratic thesis, must be referred directly to the abstract speculation of antiquity and the Renaissance.

A consideration of the particular direction taken by the thought in Ulysses' speech brings us a step nearer to the political doctrine of *The Republic*. The essential feature of the Platonic state as described by Socrates was, it will be remembered, a rigid class division wherein each order does its special work and remains within its bounds. Justice, the object of the Socratic discussion, is defined as doing one's own business and not being a busybody. The state is organized with special reference to war. In it there is no rebelling against authority. "Most truly do we describe temperance as the natural agreement of superior and inferior, both in states and individuals, about which of the two elements shall rule."[6] Violation of this fundamental organic principle in imperfect states results in confusion: "But when a cobbler or any other man designed to be a trader, having his heart uplifted by wealth or strength or the number of his followers, or any like advantage, attempts to force his way into the class of warriors or a warrior into that of the legislators and guardians, for which he is unfitted . . . this meddling one with another is the ruin of the state."[7] This doctrine of a special work for each order of society, supplying, as it does, the true philosophical basis of the idea of rank, appears to underlie Ulysses' argument. It is suggested in the phrase "the specialty of rule"[8] and in the lines describing the celestial system. The planets observe "office and custom"; the sun has the special part of guiding and controlling the rest.

This idea is merely implicit in Ulysses' speech. It receives full elaboration, on the other hand, in the passage already referred to from *Henry V*, and in terms which unmistakeably betray its Platonic origin.

[5] Frederick Tupper, Jr., *The Shaksperean Mob*: *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 486 ff.

[6] Book IV, *Cap*. 432. My quotations are from Jowett's *The Dialogues of Plato*, second edition, Oxford, 1875, Vol. III.

[7] Book IV, *Cap*. 434.

[8] The word specialty occurs in this sense only here in Shakespeare. It is variously interpreted by the commentators: "particular nature" (Schmidt); "essence, principle" (Cunliffe); "particular rights" (Onions). The term certainly carries with it also the notion of special function. The Henry V passage quoted above shows clearly that the rights of magistrates were no more prominent in Shakespeare's thought than their duties.



Exeter While that the armed hand doth fight abroad,
The advised head defends itself at home;
For government, though high and low and lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one consent,
Congreeing in a full and natural close,
Like music.
Can. Therefore doth heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions,
Setting endeavour in continual motion,
To which is fixed, as an aim or butt,
Obedience; for so work the honey-bees,
Creatures that by a rule in nature teach
The act of order to a peopled kingdom.
They have a king and officers of sorts;
Where some, like magistrates, correct at home,
Others, like merchants, venture trade abroad,
Others, like soldiers, armed in their stings,
Make boot upon the summer's velvet buds,
Which pillage they with merry march bring home
To the tent-royal of their emperor;
Who, busied in his majesty, surveys
The singing masons building roofs of gold,
The civil citizens kneading up the honey,
The poor mechanic porters crowding in
Their heavy burdens at his narrow gate,
The sad-eyed justice, with his surly hum,
Delivering o'er to executers pale
The lazy yawning drone. I this infer,
That many things, having full reference
To one consent, may work contrariously.
As many arrows, loosed several ways,
Come to one mark; as many ways meet in one town;
As many fresh streams meet in one salt sea;
As many lines close in the dial's centre;
So may a thousand actions, once afoot,
End in one purpose, and be all well borne
Without defeat. Therefore to France, my liege![9]

The relation between this passage and Ulysses' speech is emphasized by the presence in both of the Platonic comparison of good order in the state to a musical harmony[10] and of the simile of the bees. The elaborate account of the commonwealth of the hive in *Henry V* has

[9] I, ii, 178-213.

[10] For the idea in Plato see especially *Republic* 431-2 where temperance or the proper agreement of the classes is described as a harmony. The question of the specific origin of the simile in *Henry V* has been much discussed. See J. M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, pp. 13 and 18. It is unsafe to ascribe it directly to Plato, since the idea is common in later writers. The *Republic* is undoubtedly the ultimate source.

been shown to have its probable source in *Euphues*,[11] but Lyly does not, like Shakespeare, use the material to illustrate the way in which "Heaven doth divide the state of man in divers functions" nor does he discuss that point at all. Moreover, Shakespeare has added one striking Platonic feature to Lyly's description, namely an explicit mention of the three chief orders of society—magistrates, merchants, soldiers, corresponding pretty closely to Plato's three orders: guardians (rulers, councillors); auxiliaries (younger warriors); craftsmen, merchants, etc. Lyly mentions no social orders or general classes among the bees. The whole doctrine both of the *Troilus* and *Henry V* passages must have its ultimate origin, independently of Lyly, in *The Republic*. Exeter and the Archbishop in *Henry V* explain in detail the principle of order in the successful state; Ulysses, summing up this principle in the term degree, dwells on the consequences of a violation of it. The passages supplement each other and correspond to two main aspects of the Platonic discussion.

Whether Shakespeare's use of these ideas is founded in whole or even in part on direct knowledge of Plato could, of course, be decided only by the presence of unmistakeable specific correspondences. In view of the frequent recurrence of the Platonic material in Renaissance writers before Shakespeare I am not prepared to maintain very emphatically that such evidence exists. But I do wish to point out a suggestive Platonic parallel in Ulysses' speech which appears to have escaped observation. Before so doing it will be well to discuss briefly and set aside those portions of the *Troilus* passage in which, whether they are originally Platonic or not, Shakespeare may be shown to be employing motives which were familiar and traditional in the literature of the time.

The greater part of Ulysses' speech is devoted to an exposition of the importance of degree in maintaining the social and physical universe.

> Take but degree away, untune that string
> And mark what discord follows.

In thus setting forth the wreck of the universe resulting from the violation of its organic principle Shakespeare falls into a familiar literary motive, derived ultimately from a commonplace of ancient philosophy. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of the recurrence of this theme. Shakespeare might have been familiar with it in many mediaeval and

[11] *Euphues and his England*, Arber's *English Reprints*, pp. 262-3. The parallel was first pointed out by Malone.



Renaissance sources, from Boëthius[12] to Hooker. None of the passages which have been adduced by various commentators can be exclusively set up as Shakespeare's original. Perhaps the closest parallel is Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, where law as the binding force is substituted for the Democratean love.[13] But Shakespeare differs somewhat even from Hooker in that with him it is not law, proceeding from the will of God, but the purely social principle of rank which links the universe.

In employing this familiar motive to support the idea of special functions and degree Shakespeare is skillfully adapting it to a context somewhat different from that in which it ordinarily appears. And here we may well turn again to *The Republic*, where Plato's account of democracy, "a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder and dispensing equality to equals and unequals alike," a social arrangement in which the "state falls sick, and is at war with herself,"[14] has an obvious resemblance to Shakespeare's. Note particularly the following details.

How could communities,
Degrees in schools[15] and brotherhoods in cities,
Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
The primogenitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age,[15] crowns, sceptres, laurels,
But by degree, stand in authentic place.

[12] *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, Book IV, Meter VI and Book II, Meter VIII. The latter passage, in which it is said that the universe would go to destruction but for the binding force of Love, is translated by Chaucer in *Troilus and Cresseide*, which was one of Shakespeare's sources in the present play. See Book III, lines 1744-1764. Among popular Renaissance sources for the same idea is Castiglione's *The Courtier*, Book IV.

[13] *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I, iii, 2. The passage is as follows, but see the whole discussion of law in Book I: "If nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for a little while, the observation of her own laws; . . . if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads, should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility, turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should through a languishing faintness begin to stand and rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away as children at the withered breast of their mother . . . What would become of man himself." Rabelais in a passage which also has some detailed correspondences with Ulysses' speech and has been claimed as its source, plays humorously on the same theme, showing that it is the principle of debt which holds society and the universe together. See the discussion in *Shakspere Jahrbuch* IX, 202 ff.

[14] Book VIII, 556, 558.

[15] Cf. *Republic*, Book VIII, 563. "The master fears and flatters his scholars, and the scholars despise their masters and tutors; and in general young and old are alike, and the young man is on a level with the old." With the lines

"Strength should be lord of imbecility
And the rude son should strike his father dead"

compare *Republic* 574-5, where it is said that the tyrannical son, a product of democracy, would strike his father and mother.



"'She (Democracy) would have subjects who are like rulers and rulers who are like subjects. . . . By degrees the anarchy finds a way into private houses, and ends by getting among the animals and infecting them.'

'How do you mean?

'I mean that the father gets accustomed to descend to the level of his sons and to fear them, and the son is on a level with his father, he having no shame or fear of either of his parents.'"[16]

That Shakespeare goes beyond Plato in extending the confusion from society, where it is natural, to the physical universe, may well be due to such influences as Hooker and Rabelais and to the common notion, appearing elsewhere in Shakespeare himself, that physical commotion precedes or accompanies troubles among men.[17]

But the more striking and essential relation of Shakespeare's thought and Plato's appears in lines 120-129 of Ulysses' speech—"Force should be right," etc., where Shakespeare, by making the corruption of society result from a substitution of will or appetite for reason, touches on the principle by which Plato explains not only the growth of democracy but the consequent development of democracy into tyranny as well. The democratical man gives his desires full sway. Moderation and temperance are banished; insolence, anarchy, and waste take their place. "And so the young man passes out of his original nature. . . . into the freedom and libertinism of unnecessary pleasures."[18] The tyrant is the embodiment in a single person of the lawlessness of the community. The brute appetites in him have gained full sway; "he has purged away temperance and brought in madness to the full." He wins his mastery of the state by championing the lawless indulgence of the populace. It is "insatiable desire of freedom" that has brought freedom to an end, on the principle that the "excessive increase of anything often causes a reaction in the opposite direction."[19]

Shakespeare's lines—"Then everything includes itself in power . . . That by a pace goes backward, with a purpose It hath to climb"—might almost stand as a paraphrase of Plato's thought. It is true that Shakespeare does not expressly indicate tyranny as the net result of democracy—the thought would not be particularly

[16] *Republic*, Book VIII, 562.

[17] Horace, *Carm.* I ii; Virgil, *Georgics* I, 466; Macbeth II, iv: *Julius Caesar*, I, iii, 57 ff. Note especially *Lear*, I, ii for parallels with Ulysses' speech.

[18] *Republic*, VIII, 561.

[19] *Republic* VIII, 564.



intelligible to an English audience—but the expressions "Force should be right" and "Appetite an universal wolf" (Compare *Republic* VIII, 565-6, and III, 416, where the tyrant is spoken of as a wolf) strongly suggest that the idea might have been present in his mind and colored his language.

The lines about justice, too, have a Platonic sound. It is in the pursuit of the idea of justice that the Socratic discussion is carried on. Thrasymachus defines it as "the interest of the stronger" ("Force should be right"), and exalts the tyrant, who is the embodiment of injustice and wrong, as the happiest of men. The expression "right and wrong, between whose endless jar justice resides" suggests the tentative definition proposed by Glaucus, that justice is "a mean or compromise" between the absolute good and the absolute bad, a middle point "tolerated not as a good but as the lesser evil."[20] I would not press this point, however, since Shakespeare's phrase is obscure and may mean simply that justice is a buffer or arbiter between the contending forces of right and wrong.

To the general question of the likelihood of Shakespeare's having read *The Dialogues* I have nothing to add to the considerable body of material which already exists on this point. No English translation is known to have existed in his time, but the complete text was accessible in Latin and Italian, and a French version of *The Republic* had appeared not long before the date of *Troilus and Cressida*.[21] It is interesting to note that the closest parallel between Plato and Shakespeare ever brought forward occurs elsewhere in this very play.[22] Even this has not passed unchallenged but neither has it been entirely discredited. It is in Troilus, too, that an opinion of Aristotle is put into the mouth of Hector. May it not be that in this Greek play Shakespeare saw fit to introduce an atmosphere, a touch at least, of Greek philosophy and dipped into Plato as well as Homer by way of preparation for his task? The touch of Platonism is there, at any rate, both in Ulysses' address to the chieftains and later in his dia-

[20] *Republic* II, 359.

[21] Le Roy's version, 1600. This translation is inaccessible to me. It is discussed with reference to Shakespeare and quoted from by Thomas Tyler, "*Hamlet* and Plato's *Republic*" (*Academy*, Vol. LIII; June 25, 1898). Tyler's argument for borrowings from *The Republic* in *Hamlet* is interesting but inconclusive.

[22] *Troilus and Cressida* III, iii, 94-111. For the vexed question as to whether this passage is based directly on the corresponding one in Plato's First Alcibiades or on an echo of Plato in Davies' *Nosce teipsum* or on some other derivative source see R. G. White, *Studies in Shakespeare* (Boston, 1886), *Glossaries and Lexicons*, p. 299; Churton Collins, *Studies in Shakespeare*, p. 33; J. M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, pp. 97-104; Emil Wolff, *Francis Bacon und seine Quellen*, pp. 100-102. When all has been said against the Platonic parallel it is difficult to shake off the notion that the "strange fellow" is Socrates.



logue with Achilles. The specific lines in the latter passage which have been held to be derived from the *First Alcibiades* may or may not be closer to Davies than to Plato, but the whole conversation has much the air of a detached philosophic discussion in the shades of Academe. And in the speech on degree Ulysses plays the part not merely of the shrewd and subtle councillor but of the political thinker who bases his rule of action, in the ancient philosophical fashion, on the nature of the universe, the constitution of society, and the fundamental laws of human nature.

JAMES HOLLY HANFORD.

The University of North Carolina.

NOTES ON ELIZABETHAN THEATRES

I. Stage Lights

Many years ago Edmund Malone asserted, apparently speaking of both public and private playhouses, that the body of the Elizabethan theatre was, when occasion demanded, illuminated by cressets and torches. The stage proper, he believed, was lighted by two large branches—"similar to those now hung in churches"—suspended above the platform and provided with about a dozen candles each.

Notwithstanding the opinion of various modern scholars to the contrary, I believe that Malone was essentially correct in his view. In the first place, there is every reason to think that tbe two chandeliers which are seen suspended above the stage in the so-called Red Bull picture prefaced to Kirkman's *Drolls* (1672), reveal the general nature and disposition of those branches which illuminated the stage in pre-Restoration times. There is no reason, to be sure, why the picture in question should be titled the "Red Bull picture"; but, on the other hand, to employ the words used by Mr. W. J. Lawrence several years ago, "I see no reason for doubting that . . . . it represented the Red Bull as it was circa 1656, when the Drolls in question were therein performed."[1]

That such chandeliers were sometimes used to illuminate the court and university stages no one will deny; but as yet no one has proved that they were employed in the regular theatres. In this connection I wish to cite a bit of evidence to sbow that two such chandeliers had apparently been regularly used to light the Elizabethan stage before the death of Sir Thomas Overbury in September 1613; for he was surely not thinking of two ordinary candles when he wrote as follows in his "phantastique" of "An Improvident Young Gallant": "If all men were of his mind, all honesty would be out of fashion: he withers his clothes on a stage, as a sale-man is forc'd to doe his sutes in Birchin-lane; and when the play is done, if you marke his rising, 'tis with a kind of walking Epilogue between the two candles, to know if his suit may passe for currant."

Of course, it may be argued that here Overbury had in mind only the private theatre, but I should reply that such is by no means certain, for gallants in Sir Thomas Overbury's period of authorship

[1] *Eng. Studien*, 32, p. 42, note.



exhibited their clothes on the public as well as on the private stages. Curiously enough there is also some slight evidence which actually points to stage lights hanging above the Red Bull platform as early as 1620. In J. C.'s[2] *The Two Merry Milke-maids* (V, I) occurs an interesting scene of preparation for court revels. A lord appears and commands the gentleman-usher, "Pray have a care those lights be not offensive unto the Ladies, they hang suspiciously, and let the hangings be remov'd"; the usher repeats the order to Pedro, who in turn commands the groom, "Pray looke to these lights, and let the hangings be removed"; and the groom replies, "They shall, sir, where's the fellow heere shud looke unto these lights, things undone so untowardly." A few lines further on occurs the direction, "Enter Ferdinand, Groomes with Torches." In view of this dialogue, there can be little doubt that the lights which hung "suspiciously" were removed before the entrance of the masquers, and that the lights in question were those which hung above the stage.

Now the play in which this scene occurs was printed in 1620 as acted before the king by the "Companie of the Revels," but the prologue, especially the words addressed to "you in the Yard," shows that the play was also acted in a public theatre. And this theatre was in all probability the Red Bull, for the players of Queen Anne, who acted at the Bull in 1619 and who from 1619 to 1622 were known as the Revels Company,[3] were still acting at this theatre in 1622.[4] Perhaps the Red Bull Company was carrying into the provinces its usual London practice, when Mingay wrote from Norwich in March, 1636, that these players were in town and "are well clad and act by candlelight."[5]

In view of the interesting corroboration above of the accuracy of the so-called Red Bull picture in certain pre-Restoration features, I will go so far as to say that I am by no means convinced that Beaumont in his often-quoted verses on the failure of *The Faithful Shepherdess* was thinking only of the Blackfriars theatre, when he laments that an author "whose wit ne'er had a stain" should present his genius "upon the public stage," and when he asserts that certain ignorant "public things," who spend an hour spelling out a challenge on a post, base their opinion of a first performance largely on whether "the wax lights be new that day."

[2] Probably John Cumber of the Red Bull-Revels Company.
[3] Fleay, *Hist. of Stage*, 279, 297.
[4] Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, I, 198.
[5] Murray, *Eng. Dram. Companies*, II, 404.

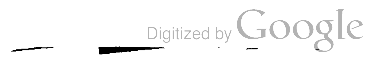
Again, it may be maintained that candles were too costly to be employed to light a public stage, and that in the open playhouses, where "they always acted by daylight," according to Wright, stage lights of any description were unnecessary. To the first of these objections it may be said that two such chandeliers as are revealed in the so-called Red Bull picture would have required only a comparatively small number of candles—two dozen at most; that the candles would have served for more than one performance, as indicated by Beaumont's words just quoted; and that, after all, these candles could not have been so dreadfully expensive.[6] To the second objection one may reply that, granting for the sake of argument that plays in the open theatres were always "acted by daylight," even then two chandeliers hung well back above the front stage would have been the most convenient and effective method of lighting a space which at most could not have been any too well lighted naturally, situated as it was beneath a "heavens" that covered practically the entire front stage.

Plays, however, were most certainly sometimes in progress in the open theatres at such times of darkness as to make more or less artificial light imperative. In view of this fact, and in view of the reliability of the so-called Red Bull picture in the matter of pre-Restoration branches, may it not be at least possible that "footlights" similar to those shown in this picture were sometimes employed in the Elizabethan public theatres? Personally I see no reason for not thinking that Wither was referring to such lights, when, in his *Fair Virtue*, published in 1622 but written "many years agone," he spoke of

> "those lamps which at a play
> Are set up to light the day."

Nor do I see any especial reason against thinking that not only oil-lamps but small cressets also were used as "footlights," especially in the open houses. Perhaps Cotgrave was thinking of cressets so arranged when, in his French dictionary, he defined *falot* as a "cresset light (such as they use in playhouses)."

[6] Some idea of the cost of candles may be obtained from a few citations and figures. At Gloucester, in 1562, "iii d" were paid for "a pounde of candelles" on the occasion of a play (Murray, *Eng. Dramatic Companies*, II, 277). At court during the reigns of Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, where the best kinds of candles were unquestionably used, "sondry prices" were paid for these articles, but it seems that the usual price was from 2d to 4d a pound; and apparently the largest candles weighed a pound each. For interesting payments for candles, see Feuillerat, *Doc. of Revels* (Edward and Mary), 5, 7, 32, 48, 55, 74, 111, 112, 139, 176, 204, 207, *ibid.* (reign of Elizabeth), pp. 158, 179, 200, 209, 293 306, 324, 325, 339, 354, 355. Possibly Sir Hugh Platt's obviously exaggerated advertisement of 1595 may be of interest in this connection. This gentleman announced that he had discovered "a candle of much lesse price then our ordinary candle; each of them lasting 120 howers at the least. It is sodainly made." (*Harleian Miscellany*, IX, 110.)



At any rate, it may be noted that the front of the projecting stage would have been the logical position for those cressets which, on dark days and late afternoons, were surely sometimes employed primarily to illumine the actors and the stage beneath the "heavens." There is no reason to believe that the owners of open playhouses ever made any especial attempt to light the entire auditorium; and if one may judge from the number of assignations and the amount of pick-pocketing in the public theatres, these forms of vice may well have been sometimes aided by a certain amount of darkness. Furthermore, cressets scattered promiscuously about the body of the theatre within the reach of "hectors" and drunken mechanics would have been a constant source of danger from fire. Placed, however, at the front of the projecting platform, they would have been removed from the more inflammable materials of stage and auditorium, protected by strong pales from the groundlings, and so situated as to be under the constant supervision of the actors on the stage. Then, too, if we regard the so-called Red Bull picture as representing in the matter of "footlights" another essentially public theatre feature of pre-Restoration times, this would perhaps help to explain why during the Restoration—when the theatres were roofed and much of the old projecting stage was cut away, and when wax candles, which could not conveniently be placed at the front of the platform, were considered the only appropriate method of lighting playhouses—the old "footlights" of the Elizabethan theatres were discarded as too bunglesome and smoky.

II. The Heavens

In a previous study[7] I gave considerable evidence to show that the cover above the front stage of Elizabethan theatres was called the "heavens" not only because it was a cover, but because—as was frequently the case with respect to the ceilings of Elizabethan halls[8] and rooms in inns[9] and private homes[10]—it was actually made to resemble the heavens; and recently Professor J. Q. Adams has advanced the ingenious idea that Hamlet's well-known speech on the "brave o'er hanging firmament" (II, 2) contains a jocular allusion to this playhouse feature.[11] Additional evidence regarding the "heavens" may not be uninteresting.

[7] *The Court and the London Theatres*, pp. 23-27.
[8] Note the words of the Plush Bee in Day's *Parliament of Bees* (Bullen's ed. of Day. pp. 23-24).
[9] See Henry Vaughan's *A Rhapsodis* (Muses Library, II, 19).
[10] Alexander Brome's *To His Mistress* (Chalmers, VI, 687).
[11] *Modern Lang. Notes*, XXX, 70-72.

In the third act of the Duke of Newcastle's *The Variety* (printed in 1649 as acted at the Blackfriars), Formall dispraises his rival in the following terms: "The Taverne he frequents he has made his Theater at his own charge to act intemperance; o'er the great Roome he uses to be drunk in, they say, he has built a heaven, a Players heaven, and thence a Throne's let down, in which, well heated, successively they are drawn up to the clouds to drink their Mistris health, while the mad mortals adore their God of Grape, and gaping look like earth that's chap'd with heat, although before within three minutes they are drench'd."

This drinking of healths in the "clouds" of a "players' heaven" would indicate something more than a mere cover to a stage. The passage is interesting furthermore in that it shows that the Blackfriars, a private house, possessed a "players' heaven"; for in the fourth act a scene occurs in the "improvised theater," in which a throne descends to "music of spheres" and a wench is sent to heaven. As the throne descends, a character remarks, "From the roofe a Throne?" And Newman replies: "This roome is mine, and cald the field of Tempe; Because I woonot stay while the Plaies are done when I have a humor to be merry, and drink healths in the clouds, I built this Elisium"—apparently an interesting reference to an actual amusement after the play by gallants who sat on the stage in Elizabethan times.

Again, in the third act of Cowley's *Loves Riddle* (ca. 1635), the epilogue to which indicates that the play was intended for the regular stage, Aphron in a very detailed manner points out to Alupis the signs of the zodiac and comments upon them. Of course, the "signs" need not have been visible to the audience, but it is more than probable that the boyish author, having been impressed by the "heavens" of the Elizabethan theatre, was here writing a passage which made the most use of this striking playhouse feature. And in view of what precedes and follows, I believe that a reference to the "players' heaven" is contained also in Sir Aston Cokaine's poem prefixed to the 1653 edition of Brome's plays, where, after speaking of various Elizabethan theatres, he says:

> "The Bull take Courage from applauses given
> To eccho to the Taurus in the Heaven."

Finally, I wish to quote for what it is worth in this connection an interesting passage[12] in *The Second Report of Dr. John Faustus* (1594),

[12] My attention was first called to this passage by Professor A. R. Benham and later by Professor J. Q. Adams.



chapter VIII of which is titled, "The Tragedy of Doctor Faustus seene in the Ayre, and acted in the presence of a thousand people of Wittenberg, An. 1540:"

"In a braue sommer Sun-shine day, the whole people of Wittenberg being gathered together, to beholde certaine matches for the Garland who could drinke most, and also to see a match shotte at a pair of Buts with Harquebushiers, as their order is in a low meddow hard by the Elue: which now being on his freshest pride was full of fine and sweete flowers, being in the latter end of the moneth wherein the Sunne departs from the last embracings of *Gemini*. On a sodaine there was seene a maruailous bright and glorious Rayne-bow, spreading the wide armes ouer the wide World, and streight was there hard a noise of Trumpets, soundinge a short florish, and then another, and by and by another all alike short, at the which the assembly was wonderously affeard, and listned, desirous to see the effect of this wonder and straunge miracle, some of them fell to their *Aue maries* lustely, thinkinge that the uniuersall Doome had been at that instant, as thus they beheld with admiration, they might distinctly perceiue a goodlye Stage to be reard (shining to sight like the bright burnish golde) vppon many a faire Pillar of clearest Cristall, whose feete rested uppon the Arch of the broad Rayne-bow, therein was the high Throne wherein the King should sit, and that prowdly placed with two and twenty degrees to the top, and round about curious wrought chaires for diuers other Potentates, there might you see the ground-worke at the one end of the Stage whereout the personated diuels should enter in their fiery ornaments, made like the broad wide mouth of an huge Dragon, which with continuall armies of smoake and flame breathed forth his angry stomackes rage, round about the eies grew haires not so horrible as men call brissels, but more horrible as long and stiffe speares, the teeth of this Hels mouth far out stretching, and such as a man might well call monstrous, and more then a man can by wordes signifie: to be short his hew of that colour which to himself means sorrow & to others ministers like passion: a thicke lampe blacke, blacker then any paint, any Hell, blacker then it owne selfe. At the other end in opposition was seene the place where in the bloodlesse skirmishes are so often perfourmed on the Stage, the Wals (not so pleasaunt as old wives haue their tales addorned with) of Pasty crust, but Iron attempered with the most firme steele, which being brightly filed shone as beautifully ouer the whole place as the Pale shininge Cynthia, enuironed with high and stately Turrets of the like mettall and beautye, and hereat many in-gates and out-gates: out of each side lay the bended Ordinaunce, shewing at their wide hollowes the crueltye of death: out of sundry loopes many large Banners and Streamers were pendant, brieflye nothing was there wanting that might make it a faire Castle. There might you see to be short the Gibbet, the Posts, the Ladders, the tiring house, there everything which in the like houses either use or necessity makes common. Now aboue all was there the gay Clowdes *Usque quaque* adorned with the heauenly firmament, and often spotted with golden teares which men callen Stars: There was liuely portrayed the whole Imperiall Army of the faire heauenly inhabitauntes, the bright Angels, and such whose names to declare in so vile a matter were too impious and sacrilegious. They were so naturally done that you would haue sworn it had beene Heauen it self or the Epitome of it, or some second Heauen, and a new Heauen it was, from thence like dewy drops wherein the Sun layes his golden shine, making them to appeare like small golden teares, the sweete odours and comforting liquor streamde, and seemde alwaies to raine from thence but they neuer fell, but kept a beaten path from downe on high wherein the decending Angell might reioyce. I should be too long if I should expresse this rare Stage, especially in such sort and such like words as the like occasion in a more worthy subiect would require, but of necessity we must barely apply our descriptions to the nature of the whole History . . . . . I shall not neede to turne backe to declare the deepe astonishement of the people, who are alwaies in most small manners induced easely to wondering, but now this most excellent faire Theator erected, immediately after the third sound of the Trumpets, there entreth in the Prologue attired in a blacke vesture, and making his three obeysances, began to shew the argument of the Scenicall Tragedy, but because it was so far off they could not vnderstand the wordes, and hauing bowed himself to the high Throne, presently vanished."

Here we have a very rhetorical composite of Revelations, pure imagination, no doubt, and real observation of the English playhouse. As Professor A. E. Richards, the editor of the production, says[13], the author in certain passages was thinking not of Wittenberg, but of the London of the reign of Elizabeth. And in view of the author's accuracy regarding such Elizabethan theatrical features as the three soundings before the play, the stage throne (interestingly referred to by Dekker in *Guls Hornebook*), the hell-mouth, the entrance of the prologue in "blacke vesture," who appears immediately after the third sounding and who gives the "argument of the Scenicall Tragedy," I am persuaded that his description of the "heavens," florid as it is, was based ultimately on his observation of some early London playhouse.

Now if it be established that the "heavens" of Elizabethan theatres were fitted up to represent the firmament, and if, as we know was the case, suns, moons, blazing stars, etc., were wont to be seen in these same "heavens," the question arises as to whether moonlight was not regularly symbolized in the playhouses of Shakespere's time by the appearance of a players' moon or moon and stars above the stage. That such a device was employed in early Italian plays, where sometimes the action of the drama was represented as occupying an entire day or night by having a sun or moon rise near the beginning of the piece and set at the conclusion, there can be no doubt. Serlio, for example, writes as follows in his book on architecture:[14] "There you may see the bright shining Moone ascending only with her hornes, and already risen up, before the spectators are aware of, or once saw it ascend. In some other Scenes you may see the rising of the Sunne with his course about the world; and at the ending of the Comedie, you may see it goe downe most artificially, where at many beholders have been abasht."

That Elizabethans would have had no trouble in accepting an artificial moon as an adequate symbolization of moonlight in broad daylight, can, of course, be shown. Henry Vaughan, for example, wrote in his "Rhapsodis," composed on the occasion of a meeting at the Globe Tavern "in a chamber painted overhead with a cloudy sky and some few dispersed stars":

"Darkness, and stars i' th' mid-may! They invite
Our active fancies to believe it night."

[13] *Studies in English Faust Literature*, p. 149.

[14] Peake's translation of 1611, folio 24.



And Alexander Brome in his "To His Mistress, Lodging in a Room where the Sky was Painted" has the words:

"When (my diviner soul) I did of late
In thy fair chamber for thy presence wait,
Looking aloft, (thou know'st my look is high,
Else I'd ne'er dare to court thee) I did espy
Sun, Moon, and stars, by th' painters art appear
At once all culm'nate in one hemisphere:
My small astrology made me suppose
Those symptoms made the room prodigious.
Old Time (I thought) was crampt, and night and day
Both monosyllabled, to make me stay."

It is needless to pile up instances where semi-darkness was probably symbolized on the pre-Restoration stage by the appearance of the "moon." Only one interesting case will be cited. In Davenant's *The Just Italian* (Act IV) Altamont and Sciolto duel by night, and the former says: "The Moon hath now put on her brightest Robe; my anger too doth carry fire enough to light us to the charge. Guard well thy heart." There can be little doubt that, as these words were spoken, a moon was actually to be seen, just as shortly after the Restoration, when the picturesque fight in the garden is presented in Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours*, the allusions in the text to the appearance of the full moon are followed by the stage direction, "The rising moon appears behind the scene."

In conclusion I may say that, in my opinion, the semi-darkness for such famous moonlight scenes as those in *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Merchant of Venice* was, during Shakspere's lifetime, supplied by "the bright shining Moone" in the "heavens"; and that, when in *Midsummer Night's Dream* a sturdy rustic is delegated to act the part of Moonlight, Shakspere is poking fun at the inadequacy of the players' "silver Ministresse of watry light," just as in Restoration times the author of *The Rehearsal* (V) is burlesquing an unusual device for symbolizing utter darkness, when he ridicules the stage eclipse by having Sun, Earth, and Moon come out upon the stage and dance, Earth sometimes coming between Sun and Moon, and Moon sometimes jumping between Earth and Sun.

III. Was the Rear Stage Elevated?

Whereas certain authorities[15] on our early theatre believe that the rear stage of at least some Elizabethan theatres was slightly elevated

[15] Wegener, *Bühneneinrichtung des Shakespeareschen Theatres*, pp. 56-57; Creizenach, *Geschichte*, IV, 420 note; Neuendorff, *Die englische Volksbühne im Zeitalter Shakespeares*, p. 125. Cf. also Reynolds, *Some Principles of Elizabethan Staging*, I, 24-25.



above the level of the projecting front stage, it must be said that the evidence cited by them from Elizabethan plays[16] in favor of the device is all decidedly uncertain. But in spite of this fact there is considerable reason to believe that the elevated rear stage was not totally unknown to pre-Restoration playhouses. In the first place, the objections advanced by Professor Baker to such an arrangement are, after all, not very serious ones,[17] whereas, on the other hand, there are a few obvious advantages which would have attended such a stage. In the second place, there is more or less actual evidence in favor of the elevated rear stage. Of considerable importance, it seems to me, is the 1597 woodcut, which, according to Neuendorff, reveals a slightly elevated rear stage in a theatre used by English comedians in Germany. Perhaps it is also worth while to point out in this connection a passage in Serlio's book on architecture, published in Paris in 1545 and later at Venice. Commenting on the structure of an appropriate "theatre," he describes such a stage as he had satisfactorily used at Vincento. The passage of especial interest at present reads as follows in R. Peake's 1611 translation: "First, you must make a Scaffold, which must bee as high as a mans eye will reach, looking directly forward; for the first part thereof which is marked *C*. But the other part behind it, whereon the Houses stand, you must rayse up behind against the wall at least a ninth part behind: then before at B. which must be very even and strong, because of the Morisco dancers" (folio 24).

The letters B and C in the preceding quotation refer to the interesting diagram accompanying Serlio's discussion; and in this diagram, it may be remarked, the rear stage (B) is not a level stage approached by one or two steps, but is a gently sloping platform attached to the level "flat" or "hanging scaffold" (C).

There can be little doubt that the type of stage advocated by Serlio had been employed at an early date for English court theatricals; and it is surely possible that professional actors received therefrom the suggestion for a slightly elevated rear stage. That at least one private theatre on at least one occasion was equipped with such a stage seems proved by Nabbes' *Microcosmus*, a very drama-like masque published in 1637, as it was presented with "generall liking at the private house in Salisbury Court." For this occasion the theatre was provided with a "front" or arch, within which was "a continuing perspective of ruines, which is drawn still before the other

[16] *Wounds of Civil War* I; i; *Lust's Dominion*, V, i; *Caesar and Pompey*, I, ii; Suckling's *Brennoralt*, III, iv; IV, i.

[17] *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, 41, p. 301.



scenes whilst they are varied." Behind this "perspective" was the "scene"—the space for properties and scenery—which closed at the end of each act. And in the second act occurs the interesting direction, "Whilst the following song is singing they descend from the Scene and present Bellamina to Physander." This obviously does not mean that the characters descended from the stage into the pit of the theatre; consequently we are justified in thinking that here the "scene," corresponding to the inner, or rear stage, was elevated, and that the characters descended therefrom to the stage in front of the arch or "front."

IV. Prologues, Epilogues, and Curtains

Although large front curtains were unquestionably employed on the pre-Restoration court stage, and although they were in all probability sometimes used on the university stage of the early seventeenth century, it is by no means certain that they were ever used in the regular London theatres of the private type. That stage curtains of some sort were commonly used in all the regular Elizabethan playhouses, both private and public, there can be little doubt; but in the opinion of the vast majority of scholars these curtains were never hung at the front of the projecting stage, but were suspended from the edge of the upper stage, or balcony, thus concealing only a comparatively small part of the large stage space.

Now with these two types of curtain in mind, it will perhaps be worth while to attempt to settle the minor, but interesting, question as to whether the practice of opening and closing the stage curtains in connection with prologues and epilogues varied at different times and on different stages during the pre-Restoration period.

In the first place, one can be pretty certain that in the regular Elizabethan playhouses, the curtain—contrary to the later custom—was never opened until after the completion of the prologue;[18] and a passage in Massinger's *Guardian* (III, vi) argues that the same was true with respect to the induction:

> "This is but an induction; I will draw
> The curtains of the tragedy hereafter."

It is entirely probable that the statements just made apply also to those stages on which large front curtains were employed. That there was, however, at least one exception before the Restoration in

[18] Note especially those cases where the prologue-speaker himself draws the curtain at the conclusion of his speech: *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Catiline*, *Whore of Babylon*, *David and Bethsabe*.



favor of the modern practice is indicated by the stage directions in Davenant's *The First Dayes Entertainment at Rutland-House* (1656): "After a Flourish of Musick, the Curtaines are Drawn, and the Prologue enters." At the conclusion of the prologue occur the words, "The Curtaines are clos'd again"; and they of course reopen at the beginning of the "entertainment" proper.

Evidence has been given elsewhere[19] to indicate that the curtains of the regular Elizabethan theatres were never left open at the end of the play; and it is hardly necessary to state that the front curtains were regularly closed at the conclusion of court plays.[20] One interesting case illustrating this custom will nevertheless be pardoned, since it has not been used by students of Elizabethan stage practices. At the end of the 1653 edition of Henry Killigrew's *Pallantus and Eudora* a note informs the reader that, since the play was originally intended for the entertainment of the king and queen at York House,[21] it "had Scenes fitted to every passage of it throughout"; and, describing the last scene, the note goes on to say that "about the middle of the last Stanzo [of concluding song] Timens puts a lighted Torch to the bottome of the Pile [funeral pyre] which gives fire to some Perfumes laid there on purpose;[22] the which wraps the Pile in smoak, and smells ore all the Roome. At the End of the Song the Curtain falls, and shuts both Scene and Actors from the Beholders Sight."[23]

Since in later times the epilogue—as distinguished from the so-called "tag"—was regularly separated from the action of the drama by the fall of the curtain, the question arises as to whether the same custom was observed on the pre-Restoration stages. The evidence indicates that such was by no means a common practice on the regular, the university, or the court stage. The epilogue to *Lingua*, for

[19] *Court and London Theatres*, p. 20. Cf. also p. 9 note.

[20] Of course this was also true of masques.

[21] The pirated edition of 1638 says the play was intended for the nuptials of Charles Herbert and Lady Villiers.

[22] There can be little doubt that the funeral pyre at the conclusion of *The Tragedie of Dido* was similarly cut off from the "Beholders Sight" by the closing of the large front curtain which opened at the beginning of the play.

[23] This production, as the extremely interesting prefatory epistle tells us, was written when the author was seventeen (i. e., ca. 1630) and was acted at the Blackfriars theatre. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.*, II, 23) asserts that it was the first case of "scenes" being used in the regular London theatres. Does not the passage quoted above indicate that a front curtain was also employed at the Blackfriars performance? Without going fully into the matter, I will say that a strong case can be made out for the employment of front curtains in the private theatres, at least during the reign of Charles I. How, for example, is one to explain the situation in *A Wife for a Month* (II, vi), where a curtain is drawn and Cupid descends in a chariot, "the graces sitting by him," unless the direction be a survival of the performance at St. James's? Again, a front curtain was apparently used in Nabbes' drama-like *Microcosmus* (1637), presented at Salisbury Court.



example, an early university play, was certainly spoken before the closing of the curtain; and the epilogue to Strode's *Floating Island* (Oxford, 1636) apparently indicates the same practice:

"Each breast
Will cease its Floating, and as firmly rest
As doth our Scene. One Passion still would prove
An Actor when the Scene is shut, Our Love."

Again, at the end of the epilogue to *Tancred and Gismunda*, an early court play, Julio says, "Now draw the Curtaines, for our scene is done"; and the same practice is indicated in the late compositions of Nabbes. Contrary to the usual custom, his masques are supplied with epilogues. Time speaks the epilogue to the "Presentation," intended for the Prince's birthday, May 29, 1638, the production ending with the direction, "Time being received into the Scaene it closeth"; the epilogue to *The Springs Glory* is followed by the direction, "The Spring being received into the Scaene it closeth"; and at the end of *Microcosmus*, presented at Salisbury Court, occur the words, "The dance being ended, they returne to their first order, whil'st Love speakes the Epilogue: which done, he is receiv'd into the Scene, and it closeth." Finally, it may be noted that this practice of speaking the epilogue before the closing of the curtains was carried over into the Restoration playhouses.

There is no doubt, then, as to the usual practice of Elizabethan theatres; still it may be noted in conclusion that there is at least one passage which indicates that sometimes the epilogue was spoken after the stage curtains had closed. This passage appears in Henry King's *Dirge* (published in 1657):

"It [Life] is a weary enterlude
Which doth short joyes, long woes include.
The World the Stage, the Prologue tears,
The Acts vain hope, and vary'd fears:
The Scene shuts up[24] with loss of breath,
And leaves no Epilogue but Death."

The matter discussed above is, as I have already said, comparatively unimportant, but it is at least interesting to know that what in the pre-Restoration period was obviously the exception with respect to the manipulation of the stage curtain in connection with both prologue and epilogue became the rule in later times.

THORNTON SHIRLEY GRAVES

Trinity College, N. Carolina

[24] Here, as in the passages quoted from Strode and Nabbes, the shutting or closing of the "Scene" is equivalent to the closing of the stage curtain.



SHAKESPEARE'S PASTORALS

To many critics it has seemed that the pastoral element in Shakespeare's plays has small significance because he nowhere introduces, with seriousness, the conventions of the *genre*. Pastoral drama in England is represented, according to this view, by the *Arraignment of Paris* or *The Faithful Shepherdess*, but not by *As You Like It* or *The Winter's Tale*.[1] Such an exclusion, however, is surely illogical. To say that because Autolycus is unlike Corin and Daphnis, therefore *The Winter's Tale* has little or no relation to pastoral literature is no more reasonable than to say that because in the Henry V trilogy we are more interested in Falstaff or Fluellen or Justice Shallow than in the strictly historical material, therefore these plays do not belong to the chronicle history group. Shakespeare extended and enlarged the scope of comedy, history, and tragedy, yet the classification of the First Folio is convenient and not inaccurate. In *As You Like It*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale* he dealt with material drawn from pastoral romance in such a way as to deepen and enrich certain characteristics of this *genre*; he did not write pastorals of the conventional Renaissance type, yet the pastoral element in his plays is both considerable and important.

In the present study I shall discuss two topics: first, the relation of Shakespeare's pastorals to a well-defined type of plot-structure which, originating in *Daphnis and Chloe* and modified by certain Italian and Spanish elements, found its first complete English expression in Sidney's *Arcadia*, and, second, Shakespeare's development from a criticism of the absurdities of pastoralism coupled with a somewhat conventional use of the country vs. town motif to a much deeper interpretation of one of the most interesting phases of Renaissance thought.

[1] As examples of many expressions of such views compare Smith, "Pastoral Influence on the English Drama," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1897, pp. 378-381: "In *The Winter's Tale* the pastoral element borrowed from Greene's *Pandosto* is so completely subordinated that we can hardly say it exists at all. Who would speak of Perdita as an Arcadian?" He makes a similar remark concerning *As You Like It*. Schelling (*English Literature During the Lifetime of Shakespeare*, p. 386) says that *As You Like It* is no true pastoral, since the genius of its author "could not be bound within the conventions of a form of literature so exotic and conventional"; and of *The Winter's Tale* (pp. 389-390) he says that the outdoor scenes "are pastoral only in the sense that they deal with shepherds and their life." Greg (*Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, p. 411) says: "It is characteristic of the shepherd scenes of that play (*sc. Winter's Tale*), written in the full maturity of Shakespeare's genius, that, in spite of their origin . . . . they owe nothing of their treatment to pastoral tradition, nothing to convention, nothing to aught save life as it mirrored itself in the magic glass of the poet's inspiration;" and his comment (pp. 412-413) on *As You Like It* mainly consists of generalizations about the beauty of "the faint perfume of the polished Utopia of the courtly makers."

I. The Influence of Sidney and Spenser

Daphnis and Chloe supplied the chief elements in the plot of a type of pastoral which was used, with some modifications, by Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare. The romance is too well-known to need detailed exposition; the main points may be summarized as follows:

Two foundlings are brought up by rustics whom they regard as their parents; their childhood is described in detail, and the manner in which they became lovers; the purity and sweetness of this love idyl are emphasized; character contrast is supplied by means of a rude lover, the rival of the hero, who is also a coward; disguised as a wolf, he attacks the girl, who is rescued by the hero. Later, wicked men attempt without success to kidnap the boy, the rival being slain in the encounter, and the incident is repeated in the captivity of the heroine by outlaws. At length the lovers are reunited; wealthy parents come and recognize them, and they are happily married.

This is the story, in brief, of the only true Greek pastoral which influenced English literature; other Greek romancers, such as Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, stressed the wanderings of the lovers and introduced various other elements which are without significance in the present study. The Italian and Spanish pastoral romances, such as the *Ameto*, the *Arcadia*, and the *Diana*, have little relation to this plot; they introduce various love idyls and go back to the Virgilian eclogues. But with them the element of allegory is introduced; there is the further important influence of style, particularly the interweaving of prose and verse; and in the introduction of the author, often as a disappointed lover who is living for the time among shepherds, a noteworthy addition to the *dramatis personae* was made.

From these various sources, all well known in the England of Sidney's time, a composite plot was formed, the essentials of which are as follows:

1. A child of unknown parentage, usually a girl, is brought up by shepherds. As a variant, the heroine may merely be living in seclusion among shepherds.
2. A lover is introduced, who may be a foundling, or, more commonly, a man of high birth who falls in love with the heroine and for her sake adopts the dress and the life of a shepherd or a forester.
3. This love story is complicated by the rivalry of a blundering shepherd, usually characterized as a coward, his function being to supply comedy and to serve as a foil for the hero.
4. Melodramatic elements are supplied by the attack of a lion or a bear, and this affords the hero another opportunity to prove his prowess.
5. A captivity episode is usually introduced; the heroine is stolen by pirates or outlaws; the hero goes to her rescue.
6. At length it develops that the girl is of high birth, and she marries the hero.

7. From Italian and Spanish sources comes an extra character, not vitally connected with the plot, often the author of the romance; usually this man is afflicted with melancholy and is living among shepherds because of his woes.

Sidney's *Arcadia* is often referred to as a pastoral; in reality it is a heroic "poem," according to the standards of Sidney and his circle, in which a pastoral episode is introduced. The action opens, in the midst of the story, with this pastoral, but that the pastoral is not the chief element in the story is evidenced not only by the space given in books I and II to the epic history of Pyrocles and Musidorus but by the fact that throughout book III, the most important of the entire work, the pastoral completely disappears.[2] The plot[3] of this pastoral portion of *Arcadia* follows closely the type outlined above:

1. A king, or, in the first version, a duke, lives with his daughters in pastoral seclusion.

2. Two princes come to the place; in order to get access to the maidens one disguises himself as a shepherd, the other as an Amazon.

3. A blundering shepherd, guardian of one of the girls, supplies comic interest; his cowardice is especially dwelt on.

4. Melodramatic incidents are supplied by the advent of a lion and a bear; the heroes save the maidens.

5. Two illustrations of the captivity motif are given: there is an incursion of the rabble by which the lives of the heroines are greatly endangered; the attempt, however, is foiled by the heroes. Later, by a ruse, the girls are abducted and are kept in captivity for a long time; the Amazon is also captured, but the shepherd goes to the aid of his lady. Here the pastoral disappears and a long series of chivalric adventures takes its place.

6. At length the heroines are released and marriages follow.

7. A melancholy shepherd named Philisides (Sidney), who has no part in the main action, is living in this pastoral seclusion because of an unhappy love affair (Stella).

The variations in this plot are not significant. There is a quartet of lovers, and the complications are, of course, increased thereby. The boorish shepherd is the guardian, not a suitor. The foundling motif is absent; the heroines are ladies of high rank. But the disguise of the lover as a shepherd; the character contrast supplied by Dametas; the incidents of the wild beasts, the rabble, and the captivity; the melancholy shepherd who is not connected directly with the action,—

[2] Except for the fact that the Captivity motif is pastoral; this motif is used, however, merely at the introduction. I have discussed the construction of this romance at some length in "Sidney's *Arcadia* as an Example of Elizabethan Allegory," in *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge*, pp. 327-337.

[3] The numbers used in my analysis correspond to the incidents in the typical plot.



all these are based directly upon the special type of pastoral plot outlined above.[4]

We have now to consider two important but apparently overlooked illustrations of the influence of this part of the *Arcadia*. The first is the Pastorella-Calidore episode in *Faerie Queene* VI; the second is supplied by *As You Like It*. The Pastorella-Calidore story is important not only because it is closely parallel to some of Shakespeare's pastorals in plot and in its interpretation of pastoralism, but also because there are indications that it had direct influence on Shakespeare. In view of its importance, I give the plot of this episode in some detail; the numbers prefixed to the sections indicate the relations existing between Spenser and the typical plot already outlined, but I have not altered the sequence of events:[5]

1. Calidore, in pursuit of the Blatant Beast, comes upon a group of shepherds. Among them is a damsel wearing a crown of flowers and clad in home-made greens that her own hand had dyed; she sits on a hillock, and all around are country lads and lasses. Calidore is fascinated by her beauty, and in the evening gladly goes home with her and the old shepherd who is reputed to be her father. Spenser here explains that this shepherd is not really her father, but had found her in open fields, "as old stories tell."

2. After supper, Calidore and the old shepherd discourse on the charms of pastoral life; love for the fair Pastorella so inflames the knight that he seeks permission to remain. Thus Calidore, forgetting his quest, becomes a shepherd, and passes a long time in this idyllic existence.

3. Pastorella has many lovers, chief among them Coridon, who is in every way unworthy of her. The rivalry between Calidore and this shepherd is stressed, especially in such a way as to bring out the superiority of Calidore in courtesy and prowess.

4. On one occasion a tiger attacks Pastorella. Coridon acts the part of a coward, but Calidore slays the beast with his sheep-hook. By this means he wins the love of the maiden.

5. After a long period of happiness, brigands capture Pastorella and Coridon in Calidore's absence. The captain of the thieves loves the shepherdess but she foils him. In the meantime Calidore is searching far and wide. In an attack upon

[4] The long story of the Captivity is very similar to the last book of *Amadis*. In that romance Oriana is captured by Amadis and is taken to his castle, with other ladies. Her father raises a great force and lays siege to the castle. In both *Arcadia* and *Amadis* this mustering of forces by the leaders on both sides is stressed and is too characteristic to escape notice; the high chivalry with which the preparations for the battle, and the battle itself, are conducted, contributes to the similarity in atmosphere, while the central situation, a lady held in captivity by her lover while her father attempts her rescue, is precisely the same. In Sidney's romance, Amphialus, son of the wicked Cecropia, is himself a man very similar to Amadis; his love for Philoclea is not returned, but though Oriana stays voluntarily and Philoclea is detained against her will, the debt of Sidney to the most famous chivalric romance of his time is unquestionable. The Captivity in *Amadis*, like the corresponding portion of *Arcadia*, is the culmination of the romance; but in *Amadis* it is chivalric throughout, while in *Arcadia* it develops from the pastoral, and the lover who had been disguised as a shepherd joins the father in the attempt at rescue.

[5] The passage in the *Faerie Queene* begins with the ninth canto.



the brigands by some merchants who have come to buy slaves, Coridon escapes, the old shepherd is killed, and Pastorella is left for dead. Coridon finds Calidore, but is afraid tc go back to the place where, he says, Pastorella was slain. He is forced to do so, however, and to the great joy of the knight he finds his lady and rescues her from the thieves.

6. Calidore restores the flocks to Coridon and takes Pastorella to the castle of Belgard where he leaves her with Sir Bellamore and his lady while he takes up once more his quest of the Beast. It soon appears that Pastorella is the long lost daughter of Bellamore and Claribell. The story is left incomplete by Spenser, since the remainder of the book, the last part of the *Faerie Queene* completed by Spenser, is taken up with the account of Calidore's quest; there is no doubt whatever that Spenser intended later to have Calidore return and claim Pastorella as his bride.

7. A shepherd named Colin (Spenser) has no part in the main action; Pastorella is fond of his music, and on one occasion Calidore comes upon him piping merrily to a bevy of maidens, who however disappear on the approach of a mortal.

That this plot corresponds very closely to the type is instantly apparent. There are variations, of course, but they do not affect the conclusion that *Daphnis and Chloe*, *Arcadia*, and the story of Pastorella are closely related. In the Greek pastoral both hero and heroine are ignorant of their parentage, while in *Arcadia* a king adopts pastoral life in order to keep his daughters from marrying, so that although the hero becomes a shepherd it is in order to deceive the father, not the girl; in the *Faerie Queene* the girl is a foundling but the lover is a knight like Musidorus. These variants are due to the fact that in both *Arcadia* and *Faerie Queene* the pastoral is an episode in a chivalric romance. Again, Spenser's version of the captivity, while similar in many respects to that of Longus, apparently owes something to the story of Isabella in Ariosto,[6] and differs decidedly from the chivalric story of the third book of Sidney's romance, in which the pastoral is dropped. But the three pastorals have exactly the same incidents and the same situations, told in the same order: the story of love between a hero and a heroine who though of high station are living as shepherds; the clown who serves as foil and rival; the rescue of the girl from a wild beast; the captivity; the final recognition. Spenser and Sidney further agree in the important detail of the extra shepherd, taken from Italian and Spanish romances which do not follow the plot structure here considered.

[6] Warton, *Observations*, p. 155, conjectures that the story of Pastorella's captivity is from Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, canto xii and following. Isabella's story, however, is not a pastoral, and is wholly different from that of Spenser's heroine, save in the detail that both are held captive by robbers and are freed by a knight. Orlando, who rescues Isabel, is not her lover. Even if Spenser had in mind Isabella's story, therefore, this is not the source of the Pastorella story as a whole.



Two suggestions as to possible sources of the Pastorella-Calidore story have been made.[7] The first of these dates from Upton, who thought that Greene's *Dorastus and Fawnia* was Spenser's source,[8] and this suggestion has been followed by others. This identification is untenable, however, since the two plots differ in almost every respect save that a prince becomes a shepherd to win the love of a maiden thought to be the daughter of an old shepherd. But the shepherd-garb of Dorastus is a mere ruse which does not deceive Fawnia;[9] there is no stress on the shepherd life, since the story consists in the main of descriptions of the struggle between the love of Dorastus and his feeling that it was beneath him to love a shepherdess. The other stock elements of this plot, such as the attack by wild beasts and the captivity, are wanting; there is no extra shepherd, and the elopement is a radical departure from the type. Such apparent resemblances as the discussion between the lovers as to the relative advantages of shepherd and city life are merely fortuitous. The second possible source, which has also been frequently cited, is the story of Erminia in Tasso.[10]

Escaping in the armor of Clorinda, Erminia is pursued by enemies and at length comes upon a shepherd and his three sons. They are terrified at the appearance of the warrior, but she soon reassures them, and marvels at their peaceful employments so near the dreadful conflicts of the war. The old shepherd tells her that they are safe because they are inoffensive and possess nothing that tempts the cupidity of others; he knows all about the great world, for much of his life was spent as a gardener in the city; he is glad to be back in a place where life is sound and sweet. Erminia is so impressed by this praise of country life that she remains with the shepherds. The story leaves her and returns to the scenes of battle; after a long time we learn that she ran away from the shepherds, desiring to seek her lover, but she was captured by outlaws and was given as a present to their captain, who took pity on her and set her free. She comes upon Tancred apparently dead, but her tears revive him and she cures him.

In one important detail, Spenser is beyond question indebted to this story. Old Melibee tells Calidore that he had spent most of his life in the city as a gardener, and he makes this experience the basis for his comparison between country and town. Calidore is impressed, as Erminia had been, by this testimony, and desires to live among the

[7] I give space to a consideration of these suggested sources because both *Pandosto* and the story of Erminia in Tasso have important relations to Shakespeare's pastorals, as will appear later.

[8] *Spenser* ed. Todd, VII, 69 n. But Upton immediately suggests a parallel with *Daphnis and Chloe*. Greg (*Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, pp. 100-101) says that *Dorastus and Fawnia* "has points of resemblance" to Spenser's story, and he also refers to Ariosto and Tasso as possible sources.

[9] He changes his rich dress for shepherd's weeds each day when he pays his visit to his lady, returning to the grove which he used as a dressing room at the end of the call.

[10] *Gerusalemme Liberata* VII and XIX. Jusserand (*Literary History of the English People*, II, 503 and note) cites this passage as the source of the Pastorella story, and others have also noticed a resemblance.



shepherds. But the Erminia story has only two elements of the typical plot: the sojourn among shepherds, and the captivity. Even these vary widely from type, for she is not with her lover, and thus the most important of all the incidents, the fundamental situation itself, is wanting. Such details as the attack by wild beasts, the rival shepherd, the melancholy shepherd, and the pastoral group that gives atmosphere to such a story are all lacking in Tasso. Erminia decorates trees with love plaints, like Orlando, and she soon runs away, going to meet captivity instead of waiting for captivity to come to her according to the rules of the pastoral game. For all these reasons the Erminia story, like the story of Fawnia, is not Spenser's main source. One detail he got from it, just as he was probably influenced by the story of Isabel in the incident of the captivity, but the true source of the Pastorella-Calidore episode is Sidney's *Arcadia*.

This conclusion finds additional support in the fact that Sidney's influence on the *Faerie Queene* was much greater than has been supposed. That Spenser intended Calidore to represent Sidney has long been recognized.[11] Moreover, Sidney was early regarded as the one who inspired Spenser to write his great epic. For example, the prefatory lines by "W. L." point out that the theme of the *Faerie Queene* seemed too great, therefore

> To seeme a shepeheard then he made his choice;
> But Sidney heard his song, and knew his voice. . . .
> What though his taske exceed a humaine witt,
> He is excus'd, sith Sidney thought it fitt.

And Spenser himself, in his sonnet to Sidney's sister, speaks of

> That most heroicke spirit. . . .
> Who first my Muse did lift out of the floor.

That all this is not mere idle compliment is proved by the fact that the structure of the *Faerie Queene*, its combination of *Ethice* and *Politice*,[12] and the conception of the function and nature of poetry illustrated by it conform at once to the theory set forth in Sidney's *Defense* and the practical application of that theory in *Arcadia*. More specific points of evidence are not wanting. That Spenser was familiar with Sidney's introduction of himself as Philisides is indicated by the lines in *Astrophel*, which apparently refer to the "pastorals" at the end of the books in *Arcadia*:

[11] Upton thought that "the name καλλιδδωρος leads us to consider the many graceful and goodly endowments that heaven peculiarly gave him [*sic.* Sidney]" (*Spenser*, ed. Todd, VII, 169 n.). He might also have pointed out the resembance between the Greek form of this name and the name Musidorus, the shepherd hero of *Arcadia*. The identification of Calidore with Sidney has been generally accepted by editors since Upton's time.

[12] Cf. Spenser's letter to Raleigh, and also Sidney's use of these terms in *Defense* ed. Cook, p. 12.



For he could pipe and dance and carol sweet
Amongst the shepherds in their shearing feast.

Again, there is a striking similarity between *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene* in the manner in which the pastoral element is introduced. In both cases we have a chivalric romance intended as a heroic poem. In this epic a pastoral is introduced which has more than mere plot interest. The model for both was probably the Dido-Aeneas passage in Virgil, not that Virgil tells it as a pastoral but that the three episodes show how the perfect hero forgets for a time his task in his subjection to love. In each case the hero is blamed for his dereliction, though the surpassing power of love is fully recognized. This combination of pastoral with heroic material in Sidney and Spenser is very different from the mixture of pastoral and chivalric in such romances as those by Greene and Lodge; in the one case it is organic, reflecting a conscious theory of poetry and of life; in the other it is fortuitous, introduced for variety and told in the manner of romance, not of epic. Finally, the influence of Sidney in the second part of the *Faerie Queene* (Books IV-VI) is constant and is of sufficient strength to bring about changes in Spenser's methods that are considerable. This influence is seen not merely in the Calidore-Pastorella story but throughout these three books. In part it is due to the great vogue of *Arcadia* following its first publication in 1590. That Spenser had seen the work in MS and that Sidneyan influence is to be found in books I-III is not unlikely, but with Book IV, which Spenser must have begun shortly after his visit to London, the indebtedness is beyond question.[13]

II. Jaques

Since the plot of *As You Like It* is drawn from Lodge's *Rosalynde*, a discussion of its relations to the type outlined in the preceding section is of importance only in so far as Shakespeare departs from his source. Lodge owed much to Sidney, but his romance is wholly lack-

[13] To give details here is impossible, since it would interrupt too much the theme of this study, but I expect to publish soon a paper upon the structure of the *Faerie Queene* in which this topic will be treated, among others. I should remark here, to prevent misapprehension, that a general similarity between the Pastorella-Calidore story and *Arcadia* was pointed out by Todd in 1805. In his edition of the works of Spenser, after quoting Warton's remark about Isabel and Pastorella, Todd continues: "This pastoral part of the *Faerie Queene* seems to have been occasioned by Sidney's *Arcadia* and in conformity to the common fashion of the time, which abounded in pastoral poetry." (VII, notes on pp. 116, 117). But it is clear both from the last part of this sentence and from the fact that he continues by giving references to pastoral poetry, that he was merely associating the two stories as pastorals, and did not have, or at least did not express, the idea that the passage in the *Faerie Queene* is directly modelled upon the pastoral portion of the *Arcadia*.



ing in those epic elements which characterize *Arcadia* and the *Faerie Queene*.[14] More important than this, for our present purpose, is the fact that though Lodge uses a number of the incidents found in the type plot, two of the three omitted by him are supplied by Shakespeare, while the third, the captivity, is not needed for the dénouement either in Lodge or in Shakespeare. William and Audrey, true rustics as compared with the gentility in disguise or with the eclogue shepherdess and swain, are supplied by Shakespeare and furnish the comic relief which is the function of the blundering shepherd in Sidney and Spenser. And the extra shepherd, melancholy, having no part in the main action yet deeply significant as one of the pastoral *dramatis personae*, the Philisides of *Arcadia* and the Colin of the *Faerie Queene*, is omitted by Lodge but in Shakespeare is no less a personage than the melancholy Jaques.

Jaques is always said to be the creature of Shakespeare's imagination, having no "source." Like Hamlet he is a mystery variously interpreted, and next to Hamlet he is Shakespeare's most perplexing character. Some critics, for example Professor Herford, find in him a promise of a "deeper, more comprehensive pity, the stuff of which in the next years the great tragedies were to be wrought."[15] Grant White and others have thought his "melancholy" to be "a sullen, scoffing, snarling spirit"; Hudson, on the other hand, thinks him "a philosopher with something of the fool in him," while Dowden sees a reincarnation of him in Laurence Sterne.[16]

A brief review of the points brought out in the previous section of this study will indicate *a priori* grounds for supposing that Jaques

[14] While the plot is not closely parallel, many of the essentials are present: 1. A girl of high rank compelled to flee, lives among shepherds disguised as a swain; she is accompanied by a friend who becomes a shepherdess. There is the praise of country life by an old shepherd, as in Tasso and Spenser, and like Erminia, Rosalynde is disguised as a man and is oppressed by love. 2. The lover comes; there is a pretty variation from type in his fancied wooing of Ganymede for Rosaylnde. Aliena (Celia) later has a love affair which is strictly typical. 3. This incident is wanting in Lodge. 4. A lion attacks, not the girl, but Saladyne (Oliver); he is more gentlemanly than the usual pastoral lion, since he waits throughout the long "meditation" of Rosader (Orlando). 5. Captivity is wanting, but in the attack on Aliena by the rabble, with her rescue by Saladyne, we have a pretty close imitation of *Arcadia* II, where this incident precedes the real captivity episode. 6. The recognition and marriage are present. 7. The extra shepherd is wanting. To this plot is added the Phoebe-Montanus complication. The entire setting reminds one of *Arcadia*, where there are also four lovers. Zelmane (Pyrocles) the amazon loves Philoclea, apparently of her own sex; so here the Rosader-Ganymede relation. Again, the Aliena-Saladyne story (shepherdess loved by hero disguised as a forester) corresponds to the Pamela-Musidorus story. Finally, Phoebe loves Ganymede, who is really a woman, corresponding to the love of Basilius for Zelmane, really a man. Thus Lodge has situations strikingly similar to those of *Arcadia*, with the sex-mystifications precisely reversed. The usual statement, therefore, that except for those portions which he drew from *Gamelyn* Lodge's story is original, ought to be considerably modified.

[15] Introduction to the Eversley edition of *As You Like It*.

[16] Cited by Rolfe, in his edition of the play, p. 252.



was introduced by Shakespeare in imitation of Sidney and Spenser. These points are as follows: 1. The stock character of the extra shepherd, not immediately connected with the main plot, a man who is not a real shepherd but is living among them because of melancholy due to a past love experience, derives ultimately from *Ameto*, *Arcadia* (Sannazaro), and *Diana*. 2. By Sidney this element was grafted on a plot of the *Daphnis and Chloe* type. 3. In English pastoral romances such a character is found in *Arcadia*, *Faerie Queene VI*, and *As You Like It*, but not in the romances of Greene or Lodge. 4. The source of the Calidore-Pastorella plot is not Tasso or Greene but Sidney's *Arcadia*. Colin, introducing the author, is similar to Philisides. 5. The pastoral plots of *Arcadia* and of *As You Like It* are very similar in their main outlines. By the introduction of William and Audrey, as well as of Jaques, Shakespeare makes his plot conform even more closely to that of Sidney, i. e., *As You Like It*, so far as the general plot is concerned, goes beyond *Rosalynde* in conformity to the typical plot of Sidney and Spenser.

We now turn to more direct proof. In the first version of *Arcadia*, Philisides occupies a more prominent place than in the version which we have.[17] Under this name Sidney represents himself as sojourning for a time among the Arcadian group because of his love melancholy. He has no part in the main action, but describes himself as a man of good birth who had been educated as a gentleman; he had been a traveller to ripen his judgment, and had returned "to use the benefitt of a quyet mynde" when love came to divert the course of his tranquillity and to plunge him into melancholy.[18] He takes part in the amusements arranged for the Duke,[19] singing eclogues on the woes of love; he is characterized as melancholy, and his fondness for moralizing in his songs may well suggest the melancholy and moral Jaques. In the present version, Philisides appears only in connection with the "pastorals" at the end of each book; thus he is even more distinctly an extra character, having no close connection with the action, yet so characterized that it is difficult to avoid the belief that he is the original of Shakespeare's portrait.

[17] For an account of his discovery, in 1907, of several MSS copies of *Arcadia* as Sidney first wrote it, see Mr. Bertram Dobell's article in *The Quarterly Review*, CCXI, pp. 76 ff. The romance was originally of much simpler construction than in the form with which we are familiar, lacking the epic history of the heroes and the captivity.

[18] Cf. Jaques' account of the nature of his melancholy, "compounded of many simples," of his travels, and Rosalind's scornful remarks thereon. (IV, i).

[19] In the first *Arcadia* the exile is called merely the "Duke," on which cf. *As You Like It*.



This parallel is most striking in the pastorals at the end of Book I. After a conventional singing match by Lalus and Dorus, Basilius called to a young shepherd who neither danced nor sang, but lay on the ground at the foot of a cypress tree, "in so deep a melancholy, as though his mind were banished from the place he lòved to be in prison in his body." Thus summoned, Philisides sings a strange song which be says he got from Lanquet (Languet):

In the olden time, the beasts were the only inhabitants of earth, and were privileged to act in all ways without let or hindrance. They had a commonwealth, "for nothing can endure where order n' is"; in this commonwealth

The beasts with courage clad
Like Senators a harmless empire had.

Despite the mildness of this government they desired a change, so all the other beasts prayed Jove for a king. After telling them that this would lead to trouble, Jove granted their request; so man was created. Each beast brought some gift to the new king, and all of them voluntarily relinquished the power of speech. Soon man turned the commonwealth into a tyranny; the more powerful beasts, imitating the bad example, preyed on their lesser brethren and finally were driven into waste places, enemies of man and beast alike. The weaker animals became beasts of burden, were deprived of their fur or feathers, were killed for food, and at length were even killed for sport:

At length for glutton taste he did them kill:
At last for sport their sillie lives did spill.

Then the "moral" is phrased:

But yet o man, rage not beyond thy neede;
Deeme it no gloire to swell in tyrannie.
Thou art of blood; joy not to see things bleed:
Thou fearest death; thinke they are loth to die.
A plaint of guiltlesse hurt doth pierce the skie.
And you poore beastes, in patiènce bide your hell,
Or know your strengths, and then you shall do well.

With this passage compare *As You Like It*, II. i. Amiens and "First Lord" came upon Jaques "as he lay along under an oak"; near by a poor sequestered stag, the prey of hunters,

Much marked of the melancholy Jaques,
Stood on the extremest verge of the swift brook,
Augmenting it with tears.

The Duke inquires,

What said Jaques?
Did he not moralize this spectacle?

To which "First Lord" replies,

O, yes, into a thousand similes.
First, for his weeping into the needless stream:
"Poor deer," quoth he, "thou mak'st a testament



As worldlings do, giving thy sum of more
To that which had too much." Then, being there alone,
Left and abandoned of his velvet friends:
" 'Tis right," quoth he; "thus misery doth part
The flux of company." Anon a careless herd,
Full of the pasture, jumps along by him,
And never stays to greet him. "Ay," quoth Jaques,
"Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens,
'Tis just the fashion; wherefore do you look
Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?"
Thus most invectively he pierceth through
The body of the country, city, court,
Yea, and of this our life, swearing that we
Are mere usurpers, tyrants, and what's worse,
To fright the animals and to kill them up
In their assign'd and native dwelling-place.

So they left him, "weeping and commenting upon the sobbing deer."

That Shakespeare had Sidney's Philisides in mind in his characterization of Jaques is, I think, clear for the following reasons:

1. The two characters are introduced under similar circumstances: Philisides is lying under a cypress tree when called upon; Jaques under an oak. Moreover, Philisides is called, wherever he appears, "the melancholy shepherd," while the regular name for Shakespeare's character, throughout the drama, is "the melancholy Jaques."

2. The two passages are very like in content. Both refer to a beasts' commonwealth in which man is a usurper. Sidney stresses this more than Shakespeare, since he treats of the origin of the tyranny of man over beasts, but it is absolutely plain in Shakespeare. In addition to such references as those in the speech of Jaques, compare the Duke's words immediately preceding:

Come, shall we go and kill us venison?
And yet it irks me the poor dappled fools,
Being native burghers of this desert city,
Should in their own confines with forked heads
Have their round haunches gored."

Even more convincing is the similarity of the two passages in their stressing of the wrong done through killing animals for sport or even for food. Critics have maintained that Shakespeare represents Jaques as sentimental, and there is undoubtedly sentimentality in the description of the stag, and, a moment later, in Jaques himself "weeping and commenting upon the sobbing deer." Yet the Duke expresses the same sympathy, though less eloquently than it is expressed in Sidney's splendid line,

A plaint of guiltlesse hurt doth pierce the skie.

3. There are additional reasons for the conclusion that Shakespeare is imitating Sidney. For one thing, the song of Philisides is not the conventional song of a shepherd. Those who hear it express surprise at the strangeness of the tale, "scanning what he should mean by it." Like Jaques, he becomes the subject of ridicule. One of the company attacks him as a kill-joy, bringing in "a tale of he knew not what beastes at such a sport-meeting, when rather some song of love, or matter for joyfull melody was to be brought forth." The next sentence in Geron's criticism may well have furnished Shakespeare with a hint for delineating, in the entire portrait of Jaques, a man of superficial knowledge which he mistakes for wisdom: "This is the right conceipt of young men, who thinke, then they speake wiseliest, when they cannot understand themselves."[20] But, Sidney says, the "melancholy shepherd" paid no heed to praise or blame, but returned "to the traine of his desolate pensiveness." In other words, he could suck melancholy out of a song, as a weasel sucks eggs. Moreover, the very fact that the song of Philisides is not of the type expected from shepherds renders him more like Jaques. He is called a shepherd, but he is not really living the life of a shepherd as Musidorus or Calidore lived it; he has had an unfortunate love affair; he is, however, a moralizer or philosopher rather than a Daphnis. So also Jaques, who has had experience with women, has travelled, and has acquired a brand of melancholy as individual as that of Philisides. Again, the song of Philisides might, in perfect keeping with the character, have been sung by Jaques himself. And finally, there is no character similar to Jaques in Lodge's *Rosalynde*; Shakespeare adds to that plot the rustics and the supernumerary but highly individualized courtier who is living for a time among shepherds; for his model he takes the melancholy Philisides.

Though this identification of Jaques and Philisides has not, to my knowledge, been made heretofore, other illustrations of Shakespeare's acquaintance with the works of Sidney have been pointed out. The most famous of these parallels is, of course, the story of the Paphlagonian unkind king, which supplied the Gloucester plot in *Lear*.[21] Less important is the possible relationship between Holofernes and Rombus, the absurd pedant in Sidney's masque, *The Lady of May*. Again, the duel between Viola (Cesario) and Sir Andrew Aguecheek has been referred, probably with correctness, to the combat between

[20] Cambridge edition of *Arcadia*, p. 137. The Song begins at p. 132.

[21] *Arcadia* II, ch. x.

Dametas and Clinias in *Arcadia*.[22] The parallel is very close: the cowardly Dametas, incited by "a young gentleman" to write a taunting letter to Clinias, reminds one in the letter and in the fight that ensues of Shakespeare's Andrew. The facts that the story of the Paphlagonian king is one of those episodes that editors and literary historians tell us make Sidney dry reading, and that the duel between Clinias and Dametas comes pretty late in the romance, prove that Shakespeare read Sidney more attentively than some modern critics have done. The most significant of these parallels, for our present purpose, however, is one that has attracted very little attention. The song of Geron, which immediately follows that of Philisides, parallels the first seventeen sonnets of Shakespeare so closely as to render it practically certain that Shakespeare had it in mind.[23] In this song a shepherd urges a youth to marry in order to beget children and so gain an earthly immortality. The situation is precisely similar to that of the sonnets, and the correspondences in thought and expression are very close.[24] The importance of this parallel to our present study consists in the evidence given that Shakespeare studied attentively that part of *Arcadia* in which the Philisides-Jaques relation is most clearly seen. Taken in conjunction with the very considerable list of parallels between *Arcadia* and various works by Shakespeare it gives important circumstantial evidence in favor of the contention that, knowing all of the *Arcadia* as he did, Shakespeare could not have failed to be impressed by the figure of Philisides, and by the excellent and unusual humanitarianism of his song against the wanton slaughter of the rightful citizens of the forest.

Whether Jaques represents not merely Philisides but also the original of Philisides is a tempting though somewhat dangerous speculation. That he knew the significance of the name admits no doubt, and as we have already seen, Sidney's portrait of himself in the first form of *Arcadia* was drawn on somewhat fuller lines than in the version printed in 1590. Furthermore, through the last decade of the sixteenth century Sidney's literary and personal influence was at its zenith. Both his sonnets and his romance were widely known and con-

[22] III, ch. 13.

[23] This parallel was pointed out by Fritz Krauss, "Die schwarze Schöne der Shakespeare Sonette," in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XVI, 144 ff. Krauss wrongly refers the song to the third book; it occurs in the pastorals at the end of book I (Cambridge ed. pp. 137 ff.) Lee does not mention it, though he does mention, without giving credit to Massey, the argument of Cecropia addressed to Philoclea in *Arcadia* III as a possible source of sonnets i-xvii.

[24] Cook (ed. *Sonnets* pp. 81 and 84) notes that Languet wrote a letter urging Sidney to marry, but he is apparently unacquainted with this poem. Since in the song previously discussed Philisides said that Languet taught it to him, very probably the song of Geron refers to this letter.



stantly cited. His tragic death was still fresh in the memories of men, and the magic spell of his personality was increased rather than diminished in its power. Again, Sidney was altogether the most conspicuous exemplar of those elements in polite literature that in *As You Like It* Shakespeare was subjecting to the test of silvery laughter. Both sonnet and pastoral are the quarry for the shafts of his wit. It is true that *Rosalynde* afforded plenty of texts, for besides the artificial pastoral in Lodge's romance it is saturated, in prose and verse, with Petrarchism. The contrast between love as a genuine passion and "love" as gallantry and affectation is brought out constantly in such plays as *Romeo and Juliet*, *Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It.* Lovers' melancholy, lovers' poetry, lovers' eccentricities, are transfixed in the Rosaline story, in the wooing of Orlando, and in the humorsome love of Orsino. Moreover, Sidney was by nature a man much like Jaques: philosophical, moralizing, grave, with something of sentimentality. Languet reproved him for his gravity; Fulke Greville says that though he had known him from childhood, Philip was never a boy. Jaques says that he would cleanse through and through the foul body of the infected world; according to his friend and biographer, this was precisely the aim of Sidney. Whether intentional or not, therefore, the portrait of Jaques is just what Shakespeare might have drawn had he deliberately set out to satirize, in entire good nature, such a man as Sidney. It is true that Shakespeare did not make a practice of representing among his *dramatis personae* leading men of his time, as Lyly, Spenser, Sidney, and other Elizabethans constantly did, but I have long suspected that the portrait of Polonius may have been colored somewhat by popular conceptions of Burghley: the maxims, the excessive caution, the fussy diplomacy of Polonius are Burghley to the life. If Burghley, why not Sidney, particularly since, as I have said, Sidney was the very embodiment of the artificial pastoralism, the Petrarchism, and the fashionable melancholy that Shakespeare was at this time satirizing in play after play. That the portrait of Jaques was based on that of Philisides I have no doubt; that Jaques also stands for the original of Philisides, Philip Sidney himself, I suggest with hesitancy, and yet with something more than a suspicion that it is correct.

III. Imogen and Perdita

In two of the so-called dramatic romances, *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare introduces pastoral episodes of great interest.

These plays belong to his latest period, dating 1609-1611; they illustrate a return to a pastoralism quite different from that which appears in *As You Like It*; and they present interesting problems in source-study. The source of one of these episodes, the Perdita-Florizel story, has long been recognized, but Shakespeare's changes are such as to alter materially the story as told in *Pandosto*. As to the cave episode in *Cymbeline*, but one suggestion of source, so far as I know, has been made, and this identification has been disputed.[25] The pastoral nature of this episode has been almost completely overlooked.[26]

The plot of *Cymbeline*, it will be remembered, is composite, being made up of certain chronicle material taken from Holinshed and the story of a wager about a lady's chastity which comes from Boccaccio. But besides these two main stories there is the account of the life of the young princes in the wilderness and the story of the adventures of Imogen after she is set free by Pisanio, these two episodes being united by the fact that Imogen spends some time with her brothers, though they do not recognize each other. That this portion of Imogen's story does not come from Boccaccio is clear, for in the novel the accused wife escapes to the haven, where she boards a ship which carries her to Alexandria; her later adventures are wholly unlike those found in Shakespeare. Again, the episode is not found in any of the numerous stories in which a woman falsely accused of unchastity suffers various trials before she is vindicated.[27] The only story thus far cited which is apparently similar to this episode is the fairy tale of Snow-white. The most interesting parallels are as follows: there is an evil stepmother who hates Snow-white and tries to poison her; the girl escapes to a cave or hut which belongs to some dwarfs, and is refreshed by food that she finds there; when the dwarfs return, they think she is an angel or a goddess, but tell her she may remain if she will cook for them; for some time she keeps house for the dwarfs, but one day falls into a trance through the enmity of the stepmother, who finds it possible to reach Snow-white though the dwarfs had warned her of her danger; the dwarfs, thinking her dead, cry for three days, and then carry her in

[25] The possible connection between the Imogen story and the fairy-tale of *Sneewitchen* was pointed out by Schenkl in *Germania*, Wien, 1864. An elaborate refutation of this view, by Leonhardt, is in *Anglia*, volume VI, 1883. Editors are divided as to the correctness of Schenkl's view; those who do not adopt it usually say that the cave episode is original with Shakespeare, and is intended to unite the story of the chastity test with the chronicle history material.

[26] Furness, in his summary of critical material on the sources, does not cite any references to *Cymbeline* as containing pastoral elements, and Greg does not even mention the play. Probably this neglect is due to the fact that shepherds and sheep are not among the *dramatis personae*.

[27] For a study of this cycle and its relations to *Cymbeline*, see an article by the present writer on "The Vows of Baldwin," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, volume XXI (1906).



a crystal coffin to a mountain; birds sing laments; at length a king's son revives the maiden from her trance. Schenkl's identification of this fairy tale with the Imogen story is accepted by many editors. Gollancz finds it particularly convincing in the fact that Snow-white and Imogen are not buried, in the laments by the birds, and in the stress laid by both stories on the surpassing beauty of the heroine, so that she seems a divine creature. "Imogen," he says, "is in very deed Snow-white, the best beloved of childhood's heroines, transfigured as manhood's ideal of all womanly perfection."[28] Furness, too, finds convincing the parallel between "the scenes where Imogen lives in a cave with that noble pair of brothers and that portion of the fairy-story where Sneewitchen finds refuge and protection in the house of the dwarfs."[29] Leonhardt, on the other hand, thinks it improbable that the fairy-story, which he believes originated in Hesse, was known in England in Shakespeare's time, and holds that this part of the story is Shakespeare's own invention as a means of linking the wager story with the chronicle of Cymbeline's wars with Rome.[30]

Aside from the doubt as to whether the tale of Snow-white was known in Shakespeare's England, there are serious reasons against the assumption that it was the source of the Imogen episode. The cruel stepmother, as Gollancz admits, is so frequently found in romance that the mere fact of her appearance is not enough to identify a plot. Furthermore, as Leonhardt points out, the Queen does not plot the death, or even the trance, of Imogen; her one desire is to get rid of Pisanio in order to break up the communication between Imogen and the banished Posthumus. Again, the two young princes and Belarius most certainly do not give the impression of being dwarfs either in stature or by nature. Imogen bears testimony to the impression they made on her; they were to her more admirable than any of the great

[28] Introduction to the "Temple Edition" of the play.

[29] Variorum edition, 1913, p. 477. So also Herford (Introduction to Eversley edition of the play). I am quite unable to agree with Professor Herford in the view that "the queen and her children transport us into manifest faerie." One has only to read *Midsummer Night's Dream* to feel the difference. Sir Sidney Lee (*Life of William Shakespeare*, ed. 1916, p. 421, says of Imogen's life in the wilderness merely that after using Boccaccio, "Shakespeare reconstructs the subsequent adventures" leading up to the reconciliation and that the Belarius story seems to be of Shakespeare's invention.

[30] *Anglia*, VI. (1883), pp. 36 ff. Other objections advanced by Leonhardt are as follows: In *Cymbeline* the Queen does not really hate Imogen; she merely wishes to bring about a marriage between her and Cloten, while in the fairy-tale she is jealous of her beauty; she wishes to poison not Imogen but Pisanio. Again, the brothers in exile are necessary to Shakespeare's plan, and it is natural that Imogen should be sent to them; in Snow-white the dwarfs are not brothers; so also the failure to bury Imogen is due to the exigencies of the plot. As to the covering with leaves, etc., such incidents are commonplaces, as in the song about the children in the wood, known in the XVIIth century.



ones of the court.[31] But the chief difficulty in the acceptance of this hypothesis is that it is not borne out by the events of Shakespeare's play. The outstanding features of the Imogen story (apart from the wager motif) are unquestionably the heroine's life in the wilderness while disguised as a boy, the trance, the poetic and masque-like burial, the horror of the awakening when she finds the dead body of Cloten beside her and mistakes it for that of her husband, and the coming of the Romans by whom she is taken captive. To this series should be added the preliminary account of the life of Belarius and the two young princes. The very recital of the elements in this part of the story indicates that Snow-white could not have been the source. The crystal coffin, the mountain burial, the guarding of the coffin by the dwarfs, the coming of the prince to awaken and claim the maiden, belong to a very different plot. Even granting that Shakespeare might have taken liberties with his source in this case as elsewhere, the divergencies are too great to render this defence of the theory convincing.

I now submit a different explanation of the sources and the construction of this part of *Cymbeline*. Close examination of Imogen's story (the wager story being excluded) reveals that it is made up of two sets of incidents. In the first, we have a story of the attempt of the parents of a girl of high position and great beauty to force upon her an unwelcome marriage. To do this, they are obliged to dispose of a lover who is the object of their hatred as well as a hindrance to their plans; he is banished, and the pressure upon the heroine to marry the distasteful lover is redoubled. She escapes from the court (at this point the main plot is interrupted by that part of the wager story which tells how Imogen escapes death through the compassion of Pisanio and by the account of her adventures in the wilderness); and after some time drinks a potion which apparently causes her death. After the funeral ceremonies, with the exquisite dirge, the dead body of the unwelcome lover is placed beside her; later she awakens from the trance, discovers the corpse, supposes it to be that of her husband, and after a passage showing how the horror little by little penetrates her brain, falls as if dead across the mutilated body. Merely the recital of this story makes clear the source. It is not a fairy tale of a cruel stepmother, of life among dwarfs, of a trance and a fairy burial,

[31] Cf., for example, her words, "Great men . . . could not out-peer these twain" (III. vii). It is also worth while to note, in passing, that Imogen is disguised as a boy, and is relatively upon the same plane as Belarius and the princes; in the fairytale Snow-white is a mortal maiden living for a time with the denizens of faerie.



all leading to the coming of the true prince to marry the princess, but it is Juliet's story told again. Cymbeline and his Queen are the Capulets, Posthumus is Romeo, Cloten is the County Paris. The trance and the burial, the waking to find, not the corpses of suitor and husband, but that of the suitor mistaken for the husband, yet warm and bleeding, the awful horror as the true situation beats itself into her brain, and the apparent death—these incidents prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Shakespeare was making use once more of the tragedy of Juliet of the Capulets. What is more, he improves on his own earlier work. For the horror of the tomb scene in *Romeo and Juliet* depends chiefly on the charnel house in which it takes place and on the murder that is done before our eyes; this scene takes place amid the quiet beauty of the mountain forest; Imogen shakes the flowers from her face as she returns to consciousness, and flowers cover the ugly corpse of the murdered Cloten. Yet Juliet's awakening in the charnel house, the few words she speaks before she decides on her course, the entreaties of the friar and his cowardly desertion, her almost immediate suicide, become mere melodrama in comparison with that wonderful speech by Imogen beginning with her happy recollection of Milford Haven where she was to meet her lord and the pathetic weariness of her sinking back to sleep, developing through the semi-consciousness of her imagining that her life as a cave-keeper was unreal and that the body beside her was part of the same evil dream, and rising step by step to the shivering horror of the closing lines. Here Shakespeare needs no melodramatic accessories; it is a later and a better version of what he had undertaken, near the beginning of his dramatic career, in Juliet's tragedy.

By means of this apparent digression I have been enabled to isolate a certain set of incidents involved in the Imogen story in such a way as to simplify the analysis of the pastoral elements to which I now turn. We have seen that in addition to the wager story taken from Boccaccio Shakespeare uses the main outline of the plot of *Romeo and Juliet*. By this means he not only gains complexity of plot but brings the wager story into direct connection with Cymbeline and his Queen; because of this same connection he also abandons the conclusion of Boccaccio's story.[32] We have now to consider another set of incidents, further

[32] Such combinations of stories drawn from various sources are, as is well known, thoroughly consistent with Shakespeare's practice and do not violate unity as the Elizabethans understood that term. My interpretation of *Cymbeline*, if it be correct, makes that drama somewhat more complex than has been supposed heretofore, but it is not more complex than *The Merchant of Venice* or *Midsummer Night's Dream*.



complicating the plot, which also form a consistent and unified whole. This story is as follows (the numbers refer to incidents in the typical plot analyzed in section I above):

1. A courtier banished by the king steals for revenge the two baby princes. These lads he brings up as his own children; all three live in the wilderness, being hunters. Twenty years after his banishment the boys are restless and desire to go to the court to seek adventures; he dissuades them by praising the advantages of their present life over the wickedness and corruption of the city. At this time a beautiful youth comes to them, weary and in need of food. This youth is really a princess in disguise. She remains with them, assisting with the cooking and other housework.
2. The lover of the princess living in this forest seclusion is absent, therefore the pastoral love idyl does not figure in the story. But because of a misunderstanding with her lover, the heroine is oppressed by love-melancholy.
3. An unworthy suitor finds out where the heroine is and plans to attack her and force her to yield to him. But his attempt is foiled by the youths, really her brothers, instead of by her lover.
4. The potion scene, the trance, and the burial take the place of the usual pastoral incidents.
5. A Roman captain and his soldiers take the heroine into captivity; they are kind to her, and help her to return to her home.
6. At length she is restored to her lover and all are happy.

In general, this story conforms with sufficient accuracy to the typical plot to make clear that it was influenced by pastoral romance and perhaps drawn from some definite pastoral. The exiled Belarius reminds one of the banished Duke in *As You Like It*; the young princes brought up as woodsmen, thinking Belarius to be their father and ignorant of his rank, are true pastoral characters; the praise of the purity and sincerity of country life is closely similar to the speech of Melibee in *Faerie Queene* VI, and is an expansion of the thought expressed by the Duke in *As You Like It.* That Belarius and his two sons are not watchers of sheep with poetry and love as their avocation need not trouble us; there is in this episode, closely linked as it is to the tragic story of Imogen, no place for artificiality and shepherd gallantry. Furthermore, it is thoroughly characteristic of Shakespeare, even from the days of *As You Like It*, to stress the more active physical life of foresters and hunters rather than the elegant trifling of the artificial pastoral. It is a more robust pastoral, but it is pastoral none the less. But the greatest interest attaches to the rôle of Imogen. Disguised as a youth, weary and starving, she enters this haven of security and peace, and makes her home with these "honest creatures" whom she wishes were her brothers. She is regarded by them as some creature

of a superior world; at first they think her a fairy or an angel; at least she is

> "An earthly paragon! Behold divineness
> No elder than a boy!"

She cooks for them:

> "Pray, be not sick,
> For you must be our huswife,"

and wins their praise:

> "But his neat cookery! he cut our roots
> In characters,
> And sauce'd our broths as Juno had been sick
> And he her dieter."

But she is oppressed by grief for her absent lover. "I do note," says Guiderius,

> "That grief and patience, rooted in him both,
> Mingle their spurs together."

Through her grief she becomes ill; she drinks the potion, and after a period of unconsciousness, falls captive to the Romans. From this story we may take out the trance and burial scenes, since, as already noted, these belong to the strand of the plot which derives from *Romeo and Juliet*. What is left is so distinct as to indicate a definite source. That source, I think, is Tasso's story of Erminia's sojourn among the shepherds.[33]

The circumstances in which the two heroines are placed correspond almost exactly. Both are separated from their lovers, and are forced to flee because of mortal danger; both are disguised as men, Erminia in shining armor, Imogen less certainly as a soldier, though she has a sword.[34] Again, both are half-dead from fear: Imogen is afraid at first to call out, but at length does so, and adds,

> "Best draw my sword; and if mine enemy
> But fear the sword like me, he'll scarcely look on't."

[33] I use Fairfax for the passages from Tasso, since this was probably the form in which Shakespeare read the story. The Erminia passages occur in books VII and XIX. The Imogen passages referred to are act III, scenes iii, iv, vi, and act IV, scene ii.

[34] Compare Imogen's words (III. iv):

> "This attempt
> I am soldier to, and will abide it with
> A prince's courage."

Furness interprets this as referring to "the courage of a Prince, the greatest of soldiers" (Variorum ed., p. 245). But how little of a soldier she was appears in her timidity later.



So when Erminia rides through the thick forests,

> Her feeble hand the bridle reins forlore,
> Half in a swoon she was, for fear I ween.

Both are also half-dead from hunger and exhaustion: Imogen for two nights has made the ground her bed; she would be sick, she says, if not helped by resolution, and she is "at point to sink for food" when the thought of her miseries makes her forget weariness and hunger. Erminia rode all the first night and the day following; the second night she slept like Imogen on the ground; in both cases the heroine is exposed to the dangers of the wilderness, without food, for two nights. Just as Imogen forgot her hunger in the greater pain of heart and soul, so of Erminia we are told,

> She heard and saw her griefs, but naught beside . . .
> Her tears, her drink; her food, her sorrowings;
> This was her diet that unhappy night.

Imogen comes upon Belarius and two youths reputed to be his sons; Erminia upon a shepherd and his three sons; in neither case is there any mention of other inhabitants of the region except that the wife of Tasso's shepherd is living while Euriphile, wife of Belarius, is dead and her grave is carefully tended by the boys. This impression of a wilderness inhabited by only a few men is unique in stories of this kind. Furthermore, the entrance of the heroine produces in each case a very similar effect: to Belarius and his sons she is more than mortal; so Erminia's appearance in shining armor sorely dismays the shepherds. Thus the two stories agree not only in the important incident that a girl disguised as a soldier and fleeing for her life makes her abode among rustics, but also in the very details. This correspondence in both incident and detail extends even farther. The praise of country life: its simplicity, its health, its freedom from the dangers and the vices of life in the world, its indifference to wealth, which Tasso's shepherd so eloquently expounds to Erminia, is for the most part used by Shakespeare in the instructions given to the youths by Belarius; but Erminia's mention of gold and jewels which she could give to the shepherd if such "thou diddest hold in prize," recurs in Imogen's proffer of money for her board and the instant refusal by Guiderius and Arviragus,

> "All gold and silver rather turn to dirt!
> As 'tis no better reckoned but of those
> Who worship dirty gods."



The stress placed upon this theme by both Shakespeare and Tasso reminds one of the passage in the *Faerie Queene* already referred to; dispraise of court is a commonplace in Elizabethan literature, but these three passages are notable for intensity and sincerity.[35] Both Tasso's shepherd and Shakespeare's Belarius, it will be remembered, have lived at court, and make this experience the basis for the instruction of youth. Again, Imogen wins the praise of her friends because of her skill in household matters; so Erminia, besides her share of the field work, makes cheese and butter to the delight of the shepherds. The beauty of the two heroines is described in almost identical language: "By Jupiter, an angel!" says Belarius, and, later, Arviragus exclaims, "How angel-like he sings!" So of Erminia we are told that

> Not those rude garments could obscure and hide
> The heavenly beauty of her angel's face.

Again, after observing the manner in which Imogen performs the various homely tasks, Belarius bears witness that

> "This youth, howe'er distressed, appears he hath had
> Good ancestors."

And of Erminia we read that her gestures and her looks were not those of a shepherd,

> Nor was her princely offspring damnified
> Or aught disparaged by those labors base.

The two stories agree in that the pastoral love idyl is lacking, but also in that both heroines are melancholy because of separation from their lovers and misunderstandings that have arisen: it is not merely separation, but separation and misunderstanding. Erminia writes poems and hangs them, Orlando-like, upon trees; Imogen grieves herself into sickness, drinks the potion, and apparently dies. Erminia, unable to endure her love-melancholy, runs away, is captured by Egyptians and given as a present to their captain, who treats her kindly and helps her to return to her friends. So also Imogen is taken by Lucius, the Roman captain, is treated kindly, and after the battle is restored to her husband.

[35] But Spenser's lines, as we have already seen, are unquestionably from Tasso. The parallel extends even farther. When Calidore offers gold to pay for his board, the old shepherd replies, in almost the same words as those used by Arviragus:

> "Your bounteous proffer
> Be farre fro me, to whom ye ill display
> That mucky masse, the cause of men's decay."
> (*F. Q.* VI. ix. 33.)

Thus it is clear that Shakespeare and Spenser draw from Tasso as a common source.



If this exposition of the Imogen plot be accepted, the following conclusions may be drawn:

1. The usual ascription, to the fairytale of Sneewitchen, of that part of the plot which is an addition to the wager story is an error. The reasons for rejecting this story as a source are quite independent of the question as to whether the tale was or was not known to Shakespeare; the two stories do not correspond in total effect either in plot or in spirit, the incidents which are apparently similar find much closer parallels in the Erminia story, and despite the absence of references to shepherds Shakespeare's story is a pastoral and not a fairytale.

2. The Imogen story is composed of three elements. Shakespeare's first interest was no doubt in the wager story, drawn from Boccaccio. With true Shakespearean daring he wished to connect this plot with the chronicle of Cymbeline's wars with the Romans. To bring this about he set the wager story in a frame based on the tragedy of star-crossed lovers long before used in *Romeo and Juliet*. The third strand, a pastoral episode, comes from Tasso, as is proved not only by the correspondence in incident but also by many details of thought and expression.

3. This pastoral episode not only assists in giving the utmost complexity to the entire plot, thus carefully and deliberately preparing for what is in many respects the most remarkable dénouement in the entire list of Shakespeare's plays, and not only aids in binding the wager story and the *Romeo and Juliet* rifacimento to the historical material, but also, as I shall show in section IV of this essay, is a means through which Shakespeare expresses some of his maturest and most characteristic thought about the meaning of life.

If Imogen is like Erminia, compelled because of separation from her lover and by great danger to her life to live for a time among rustics, Perdita resembles Pastorella in that ignorant of her high station she is brought up by an old shepherd as his daughter. In Perdita's story we have no problem of sources; the relation of *The Winter's Tale* to Greene's romance has long been known. But it is sometimes held by students of pastoral drama that the Florizel-Perdita episode is not a pastoral, though these same critics speak of *Pandosto* as a pastoral romance.[36] The fact is that Greene's story is

[36] Greg, for example (p. 411), speaks of the Perdita-Florizel story as only "apparent pastoral," and continues, "It is characteristic of the shepherd scenes of that play, written in the full maturity of Shakespeare's genius, that, in spite of their origin in Greene's romance of *Pandosto*, they owe nothing of their treatment to pastoral tradition." And Smith (in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 1897, p. 378 n.) says that in *The Winter's Tale* "The pastoral element borrowed from Greene's



much farther removed from true pastoral than Shakespeare's; what has really happened is that Shakespeare has transformed a romance of adventure which patronizes the "homely pastimes" of shepherds, "shepheards ragges," and the garlands woven of shepherd's "homely flowers" into the most exquisite and satisfying pastoral in Elizabethan literature.

At first sight, Greene's story follows the pastoral rules in several important respects. The shepherdess who is ignorant of her true station, the high-born lover who for her sake dons pastoral attire, the praise of shepherd life—all seem to belong to the realm of Pastorella and of Chloe. But beyond a bare mention of the gathering of all the "Farmers Daughters of Sycilia" and their homely pastimes, there is no introduction of other pastoral characters; the story is almost devoid of incident except for the troubles of Dorastus about his honor and his clothes, and it concludes with an elopement planned chiefly by the ambitious shepherdess. The spirit is worldly, not pastoral. Porrus charges his wife not to tell of the gold found with the child, lest claimants appear. With the money he buys land and flocks and becomes a man of substance. Fawnia, in consequence, has many rich suitors, but she cares for none until the Prince comes. Her love for Dorastus is very real, but she suspects him, even when he appears in "shepheards ragges," of intending to betray her, and it is this suspicion that makes her say, "This attire hath not made Dorastus a shepherd, but to seeme like a shepherd." Even when she saw him coming for the first time in this guise she began to forget Dorastus and "to favor this prety shepheard, whom she thought she might both love and obtaine." He convinces her, at last, of his sincerity, but she is also plainly impressed by his plea, in the manner of Herrick's advice to the virgins, that her beauty will pass and she had better love betimes. The plan for the elopement is mainly hers. Thus Fawnia is a Pamela of the Richardsonian type, concerned about her virtue, ambitious yet suspecting the intent of the Prince; her reputed father, a worthy predecessor of Pamela's father, is wholly different from the old shepherd in *The Winter's Tale*, for he suspects that the prince has designs upon his daughter's virtue. As to Dorastus, he is utterly unlike Calidore or Musidorus. "His honor wished him to cease from such folly, but Love forced him to follow fancy."

Pandosto is so completely subordinated that we can hardly say it exists at all. Who would ever speak of Perdita as an *Arcadian*?" Certainly, and who would ever speak of *Hamlet* as a tragedy of blood, or of the scenes at the Boar's Head in Eastcheap as chronicle history?



He procured a shepherd's coat and hid it in a grove; when he went to call on his lady he put it on, cursing his "base desires and homely attires." "Thy thoughtes," he says, "are fit for none but a shepheard, and thy apparell such as only becomes a shepheard. A strange change, from a Prince to a pesant." Thus the true spirit of the pastoral love idyl is wanting; Dorastus does not go to live among shepherds in order to woo his lady, he merely puts on a shepherd's coat when he pays his visits, changing back to his "riche apparel" when the call is over. We are not surprised that after the betrothal Fawnia's chief thought is joy to have won "the love of a Prince, hoping in time to be advaunced from the daughter of a poore farmer to be the wife of a riche King." Greene's story is interesting as an early attempt to substitute psychological analysis, the conflict of motives, for such time-worn sensational incidents as the rescue of the maiden from a lion or a band of robbers, but it reminds us less of pastoral than of some modern romances in which a poor boy goes to the city, makes a fortune, marries his daughter to a foreign nobleman, and prides himself on being a self-made man. How completely all this is changed by Shakespeare needs no illustration. The single point that I wish to make is that, far from rejecting pastoral romance as a theme unworthy of the maturity of his genius, he converted Dorastus into Florizel, and Fawnia into Perdita.

IV. A Phase of Shakespeare's Idealism

After commenting on "the vast dissertation factory that has been built on Shakespeare's bones," six hundred items being listed in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* in one year, Oliver Elton remarks: "But the next thing needed is a synthesis of this huge mass of illustration and apparatus. For the cold-storage of facts and parallels is of no use unless it helps us to perform better what for Englishmen surely is the chief critical task of our time, namely, to enter into the mind of the English Renaissance."[37] These words were written years before England's entrance upon a war against that theory of the state, developed to the highest degree of efficiency, which was the peculiar contribution of the Renaissance to systems of government. For just as England in Shakespeare's time represented the new nationalism in death struggle with the most formidable representative of the old conception of the state, so now she is at grips with a power which

[37] *Modern Studies*, p. 80.

represents the highest development of Machiavellian political theory. In the sixteenth century St. George defended the Low Countries in the agony of their death struggle with Spain; to-day Englishmen like to think that St. George again girds on his sword in defence of Belgium against a similar tyranny. Thus more than ever it may be said to be important that Englishmen should try to understand the mind of the Renaissance.

That mind, at first sight, seems to consist of a singular mixture of common-sense and sentimentality, grasp of fact and idealism, desire to know and to do set over against dreaming, objectiveness and allegory, the active versus the contemplative ideal of life. Bacon speaks in one place of the story of Cain and Abel as an allegory of the contest between active life, represented in the husbandman, and the contemplative life, represented in the shepherd, and says that the favor of heaven was vouchsafed to the pastoral ideal.[38] In another passage, however, he combats the idea of Greek philosophy that the contemplative life is preferable: "But men must know that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and the angels to be lookers on."[39] Some observers of English life in the sixteenth century think that there was a real conflict between theoretical idealism and Machiavellian practice, resulting in an ethical paradox.[40] Thus, More, Bacon, and Raleigh, men of the highest distinction, held admirable theories of conduct which did not prevent them, according to this view, from descending to the meanest of actions. Even more pronounced is the apparent conflict between Elizabethan concreteness and sense of fact and Elizabethan sentimentality as manifested in the sonnets and the pastorals. Sidney is ambitious to be an explorer, a colonizer, a statesman, a military hero, and he also represents himself as the melancholy Philisides; he addresses to the Queen a state paper showing admirable grasp of the problems confronting England in a delicate situation, and he also writes sentimentally of his hopeless love for Stella. Elizabeth distinguishes herself for her careful economy in administration and proves a worthy match for Catherine of France and Philip of Spain, both consummate politicians; she also delights in being praised as a Diana, a Venus, a Queen of Faerie, a subject for the most fulsome flattery at the Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth. England, the defender of Protestantism, loved also the money to be got from raiding Spanish ships; she believed in

[38] *Advancement*, I, vi, 7.
[39] *Ibid.*, II, xx, 8.
[40] For example, Sidney Lee, in *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 14-15.



reducing the wild Irish to Christianity while profiting by the acquisition of valuable plantations for the "undertakers"; St. George slew the dragon, but was also careful to appropriate the dragon's hoard.

This apparent conflict between the ideal and the Machiavellian, between symbol and fact, between even the sentimental and the genuine, is of course reflected in Elizabethan literature. Mr. Greg finds an explanation of the vogue of the artificial pastoral in the fact that "in it the world-weary age of the later renaissance sought to escape from the materialism that bound it."[41] But, however true this may be of Italy in the sixteenth century, it is emphatically not true of England. Sidney Lee complains of the paradox in the fact that "Sidney and Spenser, who preached with every appearance of conviction the fine doctrine that the poets' crown is alone worthy the poets' winning, strained their nerves until they broke in death, in pursuit of such will-o'-the-wisps as political or military fame."[42] This statement distorts the facts, since these men met death from no such cause; it is unjust, for the glorious story of Rupert Brooke is yet fresh in our minds; and it is superficial, since Sidney and Spenser were seeking to serve the state, not as politicians or adventurers but as men of broad interests and culture, according to the precepts laid down in *Il Cortegiano*, one of the two fundamental books—Machiavelli's "Prince" being the other—for the understanding of Renaissance thought. A third method of interpretation seeks an explanation, not through escape or paradox, but through identifying the whole work of certain men with these phases of Elizabethan thought. Spenser, we say, is the dreamer, the poet of allegory, the poet's poet; Bacon is the man of science, interested in fact, with no illusions; Shakespeare is the purely objective poet, whose facts come from the psychological laboratory, not from Bacon's world of sense or from Spenser's faerie. In spite of the simplicity of this mode of classification, it is not altogether borne out by the facts, for Spenser does not inhabit a realm remote from the life that England was living, his allegory of Gloriana is based upon one aspect of the new English nationalism which none of his contemporaries phrased more completely or more accurately; while the symbol and illusion of faerie romance find a place in Bacon's quest of truth and in Shakespeare's quest of the springs of human action.

A complete study of the relation of Shakespeare to this apparent duality of Elizabethan thought would take us far beyond the limits

[41] *Pastoral Poetry*, p. 51.
[42] *Great Englishmen*, p. 15.



of the present study, but certain aspects of his use of pastoralism contribute something toward an understanding. In *As You Like It*, for example, there is a keen sense of the absurdities of the *genre*. Lodge's Rosader, who brings sonnets to read in order to show "what a poetical fury love will inspire into a man," remains much the same in Shakespeare, excepting that Orlando's sonnets are converted into a sort of verse that Touchstone says he could imitate for eight years together, dinners and suppers and sleeping-hours excepted. Rosalind is not the conventional shepherds' mistress, she has too much humor; she believes in the sincerity of Orlando's love, but she lets fly the shafts of her wit upon his imitation of the love-lorn swain. The portrait of the melancholy Jaques is edged with satire. Touchstone's affair with Audrey parallels in broad farce the "love" of the great ones, and he parodies the effects of unrequited love as set forth by Silvius. Comparison with Lodge shows how in the story of Phebe and Silvius, both representative of the eclogue type of shepherdess and shepherd, Shakespeare has heightened the impression of artificiality. Thus "love" is approached from different angles, all of them showing Shakespeare's familiarity with the rules observed by the best literary practitioners and the test of silvery laughter to which he subjects them. The seriousness of the *Shepheards Calender* is wholly wanting, likewise the unreal agonies of *Arcadia* and the Petrarchism of Lodge. Rosalind assures Orlando that her frown would not injure a fly; Touchstone approves of the shepherd's life in respect of itself, "but in respect that it is a shepherd's life, it is naught."

In *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale* a deeper note is struck. Charming as it is as a romance, and witty as it is in its satire of certain literary conventions, *As You Like It* is deficient in thought. The Duke's speech on the uses of adversity is a lovely rendering of a motif frequently met, but it springs from no deep and passionate conviction. The unrealities of artificial pastoral formed no medium through which Shakespeare could express his thought; he had either to satirize or to transform. The pastoral episodes of these two late plays, however, form the vehicle for a noble defence of the contemplative ideal. This defence is the climax of the exposition of a theme which runs through a number of the plays. In *Richard II* Shakespeare had echoed Marlowe's conception of the dignity of high position. Kingship is a personal privilege; the crown is the symbol of earthly glory. In *Henry V* the essential worthlessness of such an ideal of glory is shown in Henry's great speech on ceremony, which is an



expression, in magnificent verse, of the oft-repeated idea that the peasant is happier than the king—the very essence of the idea which Melibee expresses to Calidore, the old shepherd to Erminia, and that runs through the criticism of the court found in *Colin Clout*. In *Lear*, the idea recurs, but more poignantly expressed, in the old king's words to Cordelia. In prison, he says, they can find happiness:

"And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh
At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues
Talk of court news; and we'll talk with them too,
Who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out;
And take upon's the mystery of things,
As if we were God's spies; and we'll wear out,
In a wall'd prison, packs and sets of great ones
That ebb and flow by the moon."

Other illustrations come readily to mind, but these are sufficient to show how Shakespeare's historical plays and tragedies reflect a progression from the Renaissance idea of glory to a conviction that happiness does not depend on place or power. This conception is closely akin to the fundamental principle of pastoral idealism. It is true that at first sight these and other similar passages in Shakespeare seem merely expressions of a well-known Elizabethan convention. No motif is more commonly met, beginning with Wyatt's version of the Town Mouse and the Country Mouse, than this dispraise of court and exaltation of the purity and simplicity of life in the country. But Shakespeare does not sentimentalize about country life; he would not, if living to-day, write books for tired city clerks on "Five Acres and Liberty." The very passage in *Henry V* in which the king attacks so bitterly the emptiness of ceremony praises only the sound health and the freedom from care of the peasant, not his "vacant mind"; if the only advantage in being a king consists in "ceremony",

"Such a wretch,
Winding up days with toil and nights with sleep,
Had the fore-hand and vantage of a king.
The slave, a member of the country's peace,
Enjoys it, but in gross brain little wots
What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace,
Whose hours the peasant best advantages."

And in *Lear* we do not get the full power of the lines about the possibility of happiness, even in prison, unless we bear in mind that earlier Lear, autocratic, imperious, who thought that he was great because he was dressed in a little brief authority, but not learning until he

had been broken by suffering that ay and no is no good divinity and that a king is not ague-proof.

In *Cymbeline* this theme is even more prominent. Belarius praises their life in the wilderness for its security and its honesty. But Guiderius replies,

"Out of your proof you speak; we, poor unfledg'd,
Have never wing'd from view o' the nest, nor know not
What air's from home. Haply this life is best
If quiet life be best, sweeter to you
That have a sharper known."

And Arviragus,

"What should we speak of
When we are old as you? when we shall hear
The rain and wind beat dark December, how
In this our pinching cave shall we discourse
The freezing hours away? We have seen nothing."

To which Belarius:

"Did you but know the city's usuries
And felt them knowingly; the art o' the court,
As hard to leave as keep, whose top to climb
Is certain falling or so slippery that
The fear's as bad as falling; the toil o' the war,
A pain that only seems to seek out danger
I' the name of fame and honour; which dies i' the search,
And hath as oft a slanderous epitaph
As record of fair act."

Here, then, the debate between the old shepherd and the youth, familiar in English pastorals since the time of Barclay, acquires new intensity. Later, when the youths wish to get into the battle, like Percival ambitious to seek Arthur's court, Belarius tries to keep them away, but Arviragus cries,

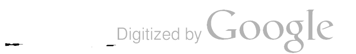
"What pleasure, sir, find we in life, to lock it
From action and adventure?"

The true significance of these passages becomes clear if we compare with the young princes Cloten the princely fool. Cloten is unable to understand why he fails to win Imogen's love, since the clothes once worn by Posthumus fit him perfectly. When Guiderius challenges him, he says,

"Thou villain base,
Know'st me not by my clothes?"

And, a moment later,

"To thy further fear,
Nay to thy mere confusion, thou shalt know
I am son to the queen."



Here, then, is the man of noble birth, but a fool, relying upon his tailor and his name for respect; over against him are set those whom he despises as "rustic mountaineers," but in whom innate nobility has produced character independent of position or the appearance and veneer of culture. Belarius looks with delight upon these evidences that his two charges are in reality noble:

> "How hard it is to hide the sparks of nature!
> These boys know little they are sons to the king,
> Nor Cymbeline dreams that they are alive.
> They think they are mine; and though train'd up thus meanly
> I' the cave wherein they bow, their thoughts do hit
> The roofs of palaces, and nature prompts them
> In simple and low things to prince it much
> Beyond the trick of others."

And after they have slain Cloten:

> "These two princely boys . . . 'Tis wonder
> That an invisible instinct should frame them
> To royalty unlearn'd, honour untaught,
> Civility not seen from other, valour
> That wildly grows in them but yields a crop
> As if it had been sowed.

Cloten, brought up at court and with every advantage, is yet a fool; Guiderius and Arviragus, ignorant of their descent, their only companion an old man whose wound still poisons his faith in his fellows, are fitted for a life of action through this withdrawal from the world. Place and power are relative: Richard could not command respect, wearing his crown; Lear could not command respect lacking his crown; Cloten gains nothing from his clothes; the two mountain youths possess a royalty of nature that dignifies their rustic garb.[43]

If, finally, we consider this material in connection with the preceding sections of this essay, the following conclusions may be drawn.

[43] This philosophy of clothes recurs frequently in *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*. Posthumus disguises himself as a peasant, saying,

> "Let me make men know
> More valour in me than my habits show. . . .
> To shame the guise o' the world, I will begin
> The fashion, less without and more within."

In *The Winter's Tale* (IV, iv) the old shepherd and his son are impressed by the borrowed magnificence of Autolycus, and wonder if he is a courtier: "Seest thou not the air of the court," he says, "in these enfoldings? hath not my gait in it the measure of the court? receives not thy nose court-odour from me? reflect I not on thy baseness court-contempt?" And after they have been rewarded for their services, the shepherd and his son reflect on the delight of being gentlemen born. Meeting Autolycus again (V, ii), the clown says: "You denied to fight with me the other day, because I was no gentleman born. See you these clothes? say you see them not and think me still no gentleman born; you were best say these robes are not gentlemen born; give me the lie, do, and try whether I am not now a gentleman born."



In the first place, the pastoral element in Shakespeare's plays is constant and pervasive. He has little of the conventional; the artificiality seen in the eclogues and in the romances and dramas drawn therefrom has no attraction for him. Neither does he use the pastoral, as Spenser and others used it, as a medium for courtly allegory or for satire of church and state. He satirizes the conventional literary pastoral, but his sympathy for the sweetness, the purity, and the sincerity of life away from the heated atmosphere of court is shown in his Perdita, his Imogen, and in "that noble pair of brothers." He looks upon country life without the sentimentality of many modern writers; he indulges no illusions concerning it; the countryman is not made noble because he lives in the presence of natural beauty any more than the king is noble because he wears a crown. Yet one gets an impression of a value to be attached to what the Elizabethans called the contemplative life as a preparation for active life, not merely in the fact that one may find sermons in stones, but through the education which the young charges of Belarius received. Lastly, the whole idea is linked with that perception of the illusion of worldly place and honor which so informs much of his major work. In this he is one with his greatest contemporary. Back of the fact Spenser saw always the symbol. There is a certain pathos in the story of how Colin attained at last the vision of beauty for which he had searched so long, only to see it disappear at the approach of a mortal. And Shakespeare, in like case aware that the visions evoked by his imagination must fade into the light of common day, also comes to feel what is at the very basis of the lovely vision of the *Faerie Queene*, that not only are worldly standards of success and happiness illusory, but that

> "Like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind."

EDWIN GREENLAW.

The University of North Carolina.

VOLUME XIII NUMBER 3

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1916

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

THE NATURE OF ALLEGORY AS USED BY SWIFT

The purpose of this essay is to analyze, somewhat more closely than has been done hitherto, the nature of the allegory which Swift developed in the service of satire. Much has been written about Swift, and I am well aware that the facts and many of the critical dicta which appear below are by no means novel; but I believe that in linking together such material I can show that the great satirist handled allegory with a subtlety of technique which has not been credited to him. There may be some novelty in claiming that a great part of his power lies in the consistent use of symbolism to deride and degrade the objects of his satire; but I wish further to determine how both the consistency and resourcefulness of his methods are conditioned by the psychology of symbolism. In the course of my analysis, I hope to demonstrate that, although the *Tale of a Tub* and *Gulliver's Travels* have rightly been studied for their "sources,"[1] the allegory in those works has a positive distinction. In other words I shall try to clarify one of the issues, perhaps not the smallest, on which the critics of Swift are wont to debate his title to originality.

In order to make that issue clear, let me offer some comments on the nature, or at least the practice, of satiric allegory as contrasted with the practice of allegory which is not satiric.

I. The Satiric Symbol

When the seraph Hope with her anchor is suggested to our mind's eye, her primary duty is to give us, by her concrete appearance and action, a sharper concept of "hope" the abstract idea. In other words, an allegory of Hope in literature is usually meant to lead us on by the visualization of the symbol to a vision of the nature of hope. Except in so far as this is eventually accomplished, the allegory is lame. No doubt the seraph should be described with attractions of

[1] In addition to the comments found in the standard biographies of Swift by Scott, Forster, Stephen, Craik and Collins, the following source-studies are important: Th. Borkowsky; "Quellen zu Swifts *Gulliver*" (*Anglia*, vol. xv; 1892); A. C. L. Brown, "*Gulliver's Travels* and an Irish Folk-Tale" (*Modern Language Notes*, xix; Febr. 1904); A. Guthkelch, "Swift's *Tale of a Tub*" (*Modern Language Review*, viii and ix; July and Oct. 1913, Jan. 1914); J. H. Hanford, "Plutarch and Dean Swift," (*Modern Language Notes*, xxv; June 1910); Hermann Hoffman, *Swift's Tale of a Tub* (dissertation, Leipzig 1911); E. Hönncher, "Quellen zu Dean Jonathan Swift's 'Gulliver's Travels'" (*Anglia*, x; 1888); Max Poll, "The Sources of *Gulliver's Travels*" (University of Cincinnati Bulletins, Ser. 2, vol. 3, no. 24); Paul Thierkopf, "Swift's Gulliver und seine französische vorgänger" (monograph, Magdeburg, 1899). I acknowledge indebtedness to all the foregoing, and also to H. E. Greene's "The Allegory as employed by Spenser, Bunyan, and Swift" (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, iv; 1888-9); but I have not been able to utilize their conclusions for my purpose.



her own; but the reader must not be permitted to linger so long over the superficial aspects of angels and anchors that he becomes preoccupied with winged females and marine hardware; he must, on the contrary, regard the quasi-human being with her attribute as a mere interpreter of something other than herself. Generally, of course, she leads him upward: the vision which she provides is poignant, spiritual, and ennobling. In the long run, therefore, the symbol in this kind of allegory is often tinged with the nature of the thing symbolized; and, when that nature is an exalted one, the symbol is carried up above its own natural level to a plane of spiritual meaning. The Grail, for example, becomes no mere specimen of goldsmith's work, but Heaven's consummate cup, owing little to earth's wheel.

But when Bunyan's Hopeful chats by the wayside, he is less likely to glorify our notion of hope, or be glorified by it, than to make it seem simple, vivid, and human, something which perhaps comes nearer to our hearts than do those vague "shining ones" whom Christian later encounters. Of course the staunch but somewhat homely optimist is less purely an allegorical figure than the heavenly visitant; but he and others like him appear continually in allegories, where they help to condense and vitalize abstract ideas by presenting virtues and emotions in actual human operations, not in transcendental constancy. Such a figure may even vary from the nature he is supposed to represent, as Christian varies from Christianity; but he does not, necessarily, forfeit his significance by such a variance; indeed, he may make the meaning brighter. Through him the allegory is not lost, but is conducted less on the two somewhat discrepant planes of this world and the world outside the senses, than on the single intelligible plane of common daily soil: virtue is still virtue, but it is also a mortal characteristic made one with mortal character. Hence, though we need not fail to translate the allegory, we are not much affected by any discrepancy in intrinsic value between the type-figure and the quality which he typifies. Hopeful, in a way, shares in the sincere but unidealizing respect which we feel for the optimism of our neighbor across the street.[2]

The two varieties of allegory discussed above might be denominated, relatively to each other, visionary and realistic. They differ

[2] The distinction between "type" and "symbol" on which the preceding paragraphs touch is similar to that which I have heard from Professor W. A. Neilson, and which is embodied in a work by one of Mr. Neilson's pupils, W. R. Mackenzie's *English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory*, Boston 1914); see pp. ix-x, 5-7, 258. Like Dr. Mackenzie, I am grateful to Professor Neilson for much guidance in the study of allegory; but I do not wish to commit either of these gentlemen to my attempts at distinguishing the satiric species.



radically from satiric allegory in purpose: vision is meant to exalt, realism to portray, but satire endeavors to degrade and deride. As the purpose differs, so do the symbols differ in the impression they make upon our consciousness: the satiric symbols do not lead up to the higher spiritual plane or greater intrinsic value of the things which they symbolize; they do not delineate or brighten or cheerfully humanize those things; but they bring down to their own level things which are of greater real or reputed value and dignity. Hence these symbols, being instruments of depreciation, must be so managed as to seem themselves on a low level: if the seraph Hope is to help to satirize hope, she must be bedraggled and tawdry, her anchor must be old iron; if Hopeful is to make hopefulness despicable, he must be a mean creature. When Piers Plowman wants us to contemn drunkenness, he does not give us a figure of Dionysian beauty with Hedda Gabler's "vine-leaves in his hair," but a sodden lout staggering like "a gleeman's dog"; when Bunyan wants to show us the illusions of a false hope, he gives us the figure of Atheist, whose laughter crackles ever the more vainly as he steps forward into perdition. Moreover, such figures should not only be managed so as to emphasize a casual meanness and ugliness, but selected, so far as possible, from whatever is inherently mean and ugly, if satiric allegory is to achieve thoroughly its essential duty of derogation. Hence it behooves the satirist to be careful in his choice; he may find, if he wishes to deride the idea of hope, that an anchor is not peculiarly an object of scorn; he may be troubled, if he wishes to deride intemperance and atheism, by the fact that all men, even the drunkard and the scoffer, are more or less in the image of God; whereas satire wants symbols which will do by their own weight half the business of dragging down. Often, therefore, the satirist abandons the classes of symbols from which I have been drawing examples, and turns to a class in which each member is, according to our habitual estimate, on a very much lower plane than the plane of those ideas or traits which they are to symbolize. For example: if humanity, as well as the traits of humanity, is to be disgraced, there is a great value in presenting human nature through the debasing screen of the beast-fable, to suggest as Henrysoun phrased it

"How mony men in operacioun
Ar lyke to beistis in condicioun."

Very convenient is that device by which a satirist like Swift may suggest a frog to represent a politician; for what reader may not be

led to infer that the conscience of a Whig, like the skin of the frog, is changeable, slippery, and unclean?[3]

The foregoing discussion leads me to believe that between visionary allegory and satiric there exists one important difference in practice: in the latter the artist more often wishes to prejudice or preoccupy his reader's mind with the qualities of the symbol before the reader passes to the concept of the thing symbolized; whereas in visionary allegory the reader's imagination must quickly be shifted from symbol to symbolized and in realistic allegory, as I have tried to show above, the type and the thing typified are closely united in impression. So far as visionary allegory is concerned, the difference in practice between it and the satiric depends on the fact that in vision there is no suggestion of a moral equivalence between the anchor and hope; but satire does suggest a moral equivalence of the frog and the Whig. I am not arguing that the visionary symbol lacks intrinsic impressiveness and beauty, but simply that such beauty is inadequate and non-definitive: the Lord's Supper is the most impressive of ceremonies, but it is ritual as well as ceremony;the participant must know "exolutions and gustation of God": like the Graal, the cup of the Passover is merely employed to lead the worshipper up from its own level to the plane of divine suffering and redemptive love. In lower matters of vision, too, the symbol is inadequate: even a transcendental nature-worshipper is not satisfied to pore forever over the physical grace of the primrose by the river's brim; the rose, perfect attribute though it be of Venus in its color, curves, fragrance, frailty, and general voluptuous opulence, is not all that is needed to bring to a focus our conception of the strife-provoking Cytherean. But in satire the symbol is really intended to be, in a sense which is not paradoxical, inadequate and yet definitive: in *The Hind and The Panther* the fabulist wishes his readers to believe that the Anabaptist is more bestial than is truly the case; we are at liberty to focus our attention on the boar's snout and the boar's bristles by which Dryden presents the Anabaptist, and the complex moral character of the man is satirized through the simple physical appearance and action of the beast. Indeed, it is worth noting that this policy of satire accords well with the very nature of symbolism; for surely the most common function of any symbol is to present the complex through the simple, the infinite through the finite, or the abstract through the concrete; the difference in satire is that adroit use may be made of the fact that the

[3] Cf. The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift (ed. F. E. Ball), i, 58.

symbol, by its very nature, is generally on a lower plane of intrinsic universal value than the thing symbolized, and for purposes of satire we are invited to let our imaginations riot on that lower plane. The boar does not mount the Baptist pulpit, but the preacher wallows with the boar; the frog does not enter Parliament, but the politician croaks with parliamentary eloquence in the pond.

If this be true, we may observe further that, from the point of view of technique, satire has a certain command of allegory which some high poetry may lack. It is natural for the imagination to halt, quite as often from inertia as from perplexity, in the contemplation of symbols before the interpretation of them: "consequently there is the danger of considering the illustration so closely as to forget the thing illustrated."[4] A primrose *may* give thoughts too deep for tears, but on the other hand many of us are very prone to think of it as a simple primrose; and visionary allegory too often affects us with the simple meaning rather than with the vision: did not Dante lament the blindness of his readers who saw only the literal significance in the Divine Comedy? The law which accounts for this mortifying lack of penetration has been explained psychologically as the law of mental pause—"l' arrêt mental."

"Le symbole n'est qu' un signe; sa seule fonction est de représenter quelqu' élément psychique, une image, une idée, une emotion; mais si telles sont sa nature et sa fonction considérées en elles mêmes, le symbole finit souvent au contraire par remplacer entièrement la chose qu' il devrait représenter; il absorbe la realité, et acquiert une importance exagérée, l' importance de la chose représentée."[5]

Yet I hesitate to believe that such a substitution is often complete, or that it is desirable in satiric allegory for the symbol to attain the importance, much less the dignity, of the thing represented. The point is rather that the reader's mental pause is only a temporary halt, just long enough to let the symbol so preoccupy his consciousness that the true nature of the thing symbolized, when finally discernible, is very slow to regain any ascendancy over the imagination. We think of the frog and then almost immediately of the politician; but the politician forthwith is very froglike to our senses; and even thus he is most effectively satirized.

Let us turn to Swift, and see how in theory and practice he illustrates this doctrine of the satiric symbol.

[4] Cf. Greene, "The Allegory as employed by Spenser. . .," (op. cit.), p. 154.
[5] Guglielmo Ferrero, *Les Lois Psychologiques de symbolisme* (Paris 1895), p. 93.



II. Clothes-Philosophy

Assuming the character of an apologist for Grub Street, Swift, in the *Tale of a Tub*,[6] complains that the productions of modern wit have not always been understood:

". . . the greatest maim given to that general reception, which the writings of our society have formerly received, (next to the transitory state of all sublunary things) has been a superficial vein among many readers of the present age, who will by no means be persuaded to inspect beyond the surface and the rind of things; whereas, wisdom is a fox, who, after long hunting, will at last cost you the pains to dig out. . . . In consequence of these momentous truths, the Grubaean Sages have always chosen to convey their precepts and their arts, shut up within the vehicles of types and fables; which having been perhaps more careful and curious in adorning, than was altogether necessary, it has fared with these vehicles, after the usual fate of coaches over finely painted and gilt, that the transitory gazers have so dazzled their eyes, and filled their imaginations with the outward lustre, as neither to regard nor consider the person, or the parts, of the owner within. A misfortune we undergo with somewhat less reluctancy, because it has been common to us with Pythagoras, Aesop, Socrates, and other of our predecessors."

Although this passage may well be taken as an acknowledgment of the difficulties or limitations inherent in allegory, the last sentence denies that those limitations are ruinous. Moreover, Swift, still in the role of a Grub-Streeter, goes on to announce that the *Tale of a Tub* will observe the practice of its predecessors, among which he reckons the *History of Reynard the Fox* (in a version which he pretends was begun "some years ago by one of our most eminent members") and Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther:* he praises the wit and style of Grub Street—"in both which, as well as the more profound and mystical part, I have, throughout this treatise, closely followed the most applauded originals."[7]

He does follow them; but not closely. Different as it is in style and wit from other satires, the *Tale* is no less different in the thoroughness with which it prepares and pursues a definite scheme of allegory—a scheme largely novel in its essence, more novel in the skill with which it is elaborated to utilize that law of "*l' arrêt mental*" which had checkmated the Grubaean Sages. This is not to deny that Swift may have borrowed hints for the separate elements which he united.[8] I think

[6] Introduction. I quote from the Temple Scott edition (London 1897), p. 54 f.

[7] *Ibid.*; pp. 55, 56, and 58.

[8] The source question is discussed at length by Guthkelch (op. cit., passim) whose conclusions, which I am here quoting, seem to me much sounder than those of Hoffmann, to whom he is replying. See also Collins, *Jonathan Swift*, p. 47, for the alleged influence from Sharp; it should be observed that Swift's acquaintance with the sermon could only have been by oral report, as Guthkelch shows. For Selden, see *Notes and Queries*, 3d Ser., xii, 451.

it possible that he was in some way influenced by the sermon of Archbishop Sharp which resembles the *Tale* in that both "illustrate the disputes between the Churches of Rome and England by a comparison with the disputes of heirs to an estate, and in both cases there is reference to a will." But

"in Swift the heirs are three, in Sharp their number is not stated: in Swift they are sons, in Sharp they are descendants removed by 'some generations': in Swift the main part of the allegory concerns the coats which the father gives his sons, in Sharp there is nothing corresponding: and there is nothing in Swift corresponding to the argument of the 'insolent pretender' in Sharp. In fact there is nothing in common but the ancestor, the descendants, and the will."

If Swift got anything from Sharp, clearly he did not get the clothes-philosophy and the satiric application: he merely took the plot of a non-satiric *exemplum*. And if he owes anything to the "story of the three rings," to Fontenelle, or to Optatus, the debt is much the same in nature and less in quantity. To Selden's "Table-Talk" he may have owed a more precious suggestion; but let comparison of the passages which have been adduced as parallel show how greatly they differ:

"Religion is like the fashion, one Man wears his Doublet slash'd, another lac'd, another plain; but every Man has a Doublet: So every Man has his Religion. We differ about Trimming.

So writes Selden; compare Swift:

"The worshippers of this deity (the tailor) had also a system of their belief, which seemed to turn upon the following fundamentals. They held the universe to be a large suit of clothes, which invests everything; that the earth is invested by the air; the air is invested by the stars; and the stars are invested by the *primum mobile*. Look on this globe of earth, you will find it to be a very complete and fashionable dress. . . . What is man himself but a microcoat, or rather a complete suit of clothes with all its trimmings? as to his body, there can be no dispute: but examine even the acquirements of his mind . . . is not religion a cloak; honesty a pair of shoes worn out in the dirt; self-love a surtout; vanity a shirt; and conscience a pair of breeches . . . ? These *postulata* being admitted, it will follow in due course of reasoning, that those beings which the world calls improperly suits of clothes, are in reality the most refined species of animals; or to proceed higher, that they are rational creatures, or men. . . . If one of them be trimmed up with a gold chain, and a red gown, and a white rod, and a great horse, it is called a Lord-Mayor; if certain ermines and furs be placed in a certain position, we style them a Judge; and so an apt conjunction of lawn and black satin we entitle a Bishop. . . .

. . . By all which it is manifest, that the outward dress must needs be the soul."[9]

Here is a sort of philosophy for which "fundamentals," "*postulata*," and universal applicability are claimed; if Selden had any such seed in his garden, he certainly never watered and tended it into any such efflorescence. Aside from the irony of the passage, which I shall discuss later, my point is that the clothes-philosophy, with its grave insistence on physical and concrete externals, furnishes a unique and remarkable hypothesis by which satiric symbolism can be made to seem valid. Furthermore, Swift later strengthens the basis of the allegory by equally pertinent generalizations:

"The two senses, to which all objects first address themselves, are the sight and the touch; these never examine farther than the colour, the shape, the size and whatever other qualities dwell, or are drawn by art upon the outward of bodies; and then comes reason officiously with tools for cutting, and opening, and mangling, and piercing, offering to demonstrate, that they are not of the same consistence quite through. Now I take all this to be the last degree of perverting nature; one of whose eternal laws it is, to put her best furniture forward. . . . Last week I saw a woman flayed, and you will hardly believe how much it altered her person for the worse. Yesterday I ordered the carcass of a beau to be stripped in my presence, when we were all amazed to find so many unexpected faults under one suit of clothes. . . . And he, whose fortunes and dispositions have placed him in a convenient station to . . . content his ideas with the films and images that fly off upon his senses from the superficies of things; such a man, truly wise, creams off nature, leaving the sour and the dregs of philosophy and reason to lap up. This is the sublime and refined point of felicity, called the possession of being well deceived; the serene peaceful state, of being a fool among knaves.[10]

This passage has been quoted and praised by innumerable critics; its originality, its depth of irony and of pessimism, have often been vindicated; but is it not also of great and original value as an explanation of satiric allegory?

The irony, of course, is evident; it is an intellectual current running counter to the imaginative sweep of the allegory. Swift, as Leslie Stephen says, is "playing with paradoxes, "and expects his more sympathetic readers to reverse by thought what he tells them through fancy. There is bitterness in the definition of happiness as "a perpetual definition of being well deceived," and bitterness in the comment—

[9] *Tale of a Tub*, 61 f.

[10] *Ibid.*, 119 f. The whole passage is important; I quote from p. 120.



How fading and insipid do all objects accost us, that are not conveyed in the vehicle of delusion! How shrunk is everything, as it appears in the glass of nature!'—

But if Swift eventually preaches the doctrine that your genuine seeker after truth must continue, despite the disillusionment, to penetrate and strip away the "superficies of things," he holds our imagination first with the half-humorous postulate that the consummate qualities of the universe may be found in clothing and films generally; on the strength of which postulate he persuades us, as the allegory is developed, that the tarnished lace on a coat is a fit expression for certain vagaries of religious dogma. If his irony is inconsistent with his allegory, it is because our own intellectual faculty is frequently inconsistent with our imagination.

The dominance and the thoroughness of the symbolic scheme may appear when it is contrasted with the practice of other satirists, from whom, though he did not borrow hints of structure, he certainly learned something about the technique of satire and allegory. With Erasmus and with Rabelais, for example, he shares the common satiric habit of letting the symbols pass muster as the more or less complete equivalents of the things symbolized; but I cannot find that either Erasmus or Rabelais worked the game by a definite programme or on the strength of any such initial philosophy as that of clothes. Both, and especially Rabelais, are more often simply boisterous; and both show a certain almost nervous anxiety—strange in Rabelais!—not to trust too far the reader's docility in accepting the fallacious equivalence. They are very decided, furthermore, in clearing their writings from the charge of being what they seem: they weaken by direct statement where Swift weakens, if at all, by ironical and indifferent implication: they want it to be known that the net import of their work is serious and edifying. The curé of Meudon assures his illustrious clients that his book is like the Sileni of Plato's *Symposium*, ugly without but full of value within; the *Praise of Folly*, in nearly identical phraseology, warns us against being contented with the masque and neglecting the realities of life.[11] There are instances in which the reader of Gargantua's "*mocqueries, folateries, et menteries joyeuses*" is deliberately invited, like the reader of the far different fancies in the *Divina Commedia*, at least to see through into the allegorical and true meaning if not to accept it as dominant and

[11] Cf. Rabelais, "Prologue de l' auteur," Livre I; Erasmus, *Encomium Moriae*, (edition of London 1765), p. 63.



essential; and for the moment, as the assumed impassivity of satire is broken, the symbols retreat from the foreground of our consciousness into the edges leaving the things symbolized to stretch and spread into their usual dimension and repute. And the philosophy of clothes, which in the *Tale of a Tub* is united with an ostensible theory of gross materialism, has no potency in Rabelais or Erasmus to cover the objects of satire with its distorting screen.

And in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus* the clothes-philosophy, though it was certainly inspired by Swift, is neither gross nor distorting, and not always satiric. For although it is advanced and elaborated with the mock-solemn meticulousness of style which seems so closely similar to Swift's method, it is used in two quite distinct ways, both altogether unlike the Swiftian hypothesis: Carlyle sometimes implies that clothes and other symbols are not degrading but interpretative—"the garment of God thou seest him by"; and at other times that, whether degrading or not, they are temporary and inessential—man "is by nature a *Naked Animal*, and only in certain circumstances, by purpose and device, masks himself in Clothes."[12] Both in the value he assigns to the symbol and the value he denies it, Carlyle is visionary. He tells us indeed that

"in this one pregnant subject of CLOTHES, rightly understood, is included all that men have thought, dreamed, done and been: the whole External Universe and what it holds is but Clothing; and the essence of all Science lies in the PHILOSOPHY OF CLOTHES."

But the grounds for this pronouncement of Herr Teufelsdröckh lie in Carlyle's power, which to Swift was foolishness, of recognizing the extrinsic worth of a symbol; indeed, *Sartor* has a notable passage with the lines which touch on patriotism:

"Have I not myself known five-hundred living soldiers sabred into crows' meat for a piece of glazed cotton, which they called their Flag; which, had you sold it at any market-cross, would not have brought above three groschen?"

Carlyle is not here deriding either the symbol or the virtue of patriotism, but pointing out that the former is of importance only as it stands for the latter. Therefore

"as Time adds much to the sacredness of Symbols, so likewise in his progress he at length defaces, or even desecrates them; and Symbols, like all terrestrial Garments, wax old."

[12] I quote *Sartor* from the Athenaeum Press edition, edited by Archibald MacMechan (Boston, 1896); pp. 2, 65, 201, 203 f.



Again,

"Whatsoever sensibly exists, whatsoever represents Spirit to Spirit, is properly a Clothing, a suit of Raiment, put on for a season, and to be laid off."

So, in spite of passages like that about the dandies which are more in the Swiftian vein, the fundamental assumptions of *Sartor* are utterly unlike those of the *Tale of a Tub*: the didactic Carlyle would persuade us, seriously enough, that the outside of things is often a valuable clue to their inside but never a substitute for it; the satiric Swift assumes, for allegory, that the outside is enough, and implies, by irony, that the inside is the only thing worth considering.

If I have correctly interpreted the outline of the *Tale*, the filling in need not be analyzed minutely: the narrative is doubtless familiar enough to most of my readers. The whole history of the dissensions in the Christian Church becomes the history of a family squabble, in which three brothers wrangle over the interpretation of their father's will or fall into the errors of conduct appropriate to a town rake; the creed of primitive Christianity is represented by three coats, all at first alike, but changed by errors of doctrine which adorn and deface the cloth with shoulder-knots, gold lace, or ill-advised remodelling; the learning and wisdom of the Popes and world-wide awe which the Papacy has inspired are levelled with the wisdom and repute of Brother Peter, who was known as "the best scholar in all that, or the next street to it"; the fervors of Calvinistic exhortation are levelled with Brother Jack's invention of "a soporiferous medicine to be conveyed in at the ears, . . . a compound of sulphur and balm of Gilead, with a little pilgrim's salve"; holy water is compared to a pickling-fluid, the merits of which are extolled in language like that on the labels of patent-medicine bottles; the kings of temporal power and dominion are represented as "naughty boys"; and to preserve proportion, the very Deity must become for the nonce a temporal and earthly king. Many of the symbols used in the details of the narrative had never before been applied to such purposes; in order to make sure that the objects of his satire are presented through matters which are inherently small and shabby, Swift invents new emblems; but if there is a ready-made emblem convenient it is stripped of its mystical glory and reduced, by literalness of treatment, to a bald and foolish aspect—thus the cross is described as an "old sign-post," belonging to Peter's father, "with nails and timber enough in it to build sixteen large men-of-war"; and in the same spirit he glances at the science of numbers or at the Rosicrucians.[13]

[13] *Tale*, pp. 69, 135, 81, 89, 87, 49, 128.



Of course the allegory is not without blemishes and artistic shortcomings; indeed, two fruitful sources of such blemishes are provided by the initial scheme: it is a hard scheme to maintain through all details, it is also a hard scheme to limit in application when application is not wanted. In the first place Swift's invention sometimes flagged or became confused, and he might be taken to task for minor blunders and licenses: incongruous symbols are used for Purgatory, which is at one time a tract of land and at another time the flame-colored lining of Peter's coat; and by the use of a punning symbol for the Pope's Bulls cattle are endowed with an unlikely taste for money.[14] But the difficulty of maintaining plausible correspondences between the real meaning and the literal one is not confined to Swift, nor to that species of allegory which is satiric; his failures in this respect can be paralleled in the work of the visionary and the realist. A more serious fault lies in the over-completeness, rather than the need for inventiveness, of the satiric foundation with which he began the *Tale*. The clothes-philosophy and the allegory built on it deny the value of vision; what then becomes, not only of those things which the satirist attacks, but of those exalted doctrines which the Christian moralist should vindicate and reveal in brighter hues? They too are obscured; and Swift, quite against his will, loses the character of a Christian moralist: his ethical or doctrinal teaching is submerged in the general satiric deluge, or swims with difficulty. He protests vainly that he was not attacking the Church of England, and doubtless he did not mean to attack it; but in the *Tale* the virtuous or neutral elements of all religious institutions are made derisory by the unworthiness of the shapes through which they are represented to us; Brother Martin is handled by Swift so as to seem less knave or fool than Brother Peter or Brother Jack, but Martin is unavoidably a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Reformed doctrine and polity through being part of a scheme that tended to make all religions seem petty; the cross and the Deity are not objects of Swift's attack, but they have to be put in the category of the despicable. Hence the unpopularity of the *Tale* among the devout of Swift's generation and later is not altogether unjust; even to readers not specially devout may come the feeling that the satire is unreasonably narrowed, and lacks the more warm-blooded tolerance of Rabelais and Erasmus and even of Carlyle. Where there is no vision the people perish, and sometimes the critic yawns.

[14] *Ibid.*, 79, 82 f.

I have spoken chiefly of the narrative portions of the *Tale*, for they are the organic development of the allegory; but something of the initial hypothesis supports the digressions which hold up to scorn the abuses of learning: as Mr. Paul E. More says, these too "shrivel" what they attack. And if we leave the *Tale of a Tub* and turn to the *Battle of the Books*, we find again the usual shrivelling policy of satiric symbolism, though not carried out, I think, with the bitterness and completeness of philosophic foundation that underlie the *Tale*: not only the Moderns, but the Ancients too, are made rather absurd through the mock-epic combat. But I postpone full discussion of the *Battle* to a subsequent paper in which I hope to deal with it from another point of view, for it is more remarkable as burlesque than as allegory; let me turn now to the most significant and influential of all Swift's symbolism—that which he develops in *Gulliver's Travels*.

III. Big and Little

Although it may be true that "*Gulliver's Travels* is one of the very few books some knowledge of which may be fairly assumed in any one who reads anything,"[15] yet there are probably not many readers who would agree offhand in an analysis of the allegorical scheme. Aside from those who read it merely for the story, those who are perfectly competent and willing to enjoy the satire have sometimes felt uncertain of the means by which the satire is conveyed and of the direction which it takes. Some, for example, have been tempted to regard the first two voyages (those to Lilliput and Brobdingnag, especially the former) as possessing a large autobiographical element, and there are certain incidents, such as that in which Gulliver extinguished the fire in the Queen's palace, which certainly lend color to this interpretation: the wrath of the Lilliputian queen resembles the displeasure which Queen Anne felt with Swift for having published the *Tale of a Tub*; there is a topographical resemblance between Lilliput and Ireland; and various other touches which justify the opinion that sometimes at least the author is tracing a resemblance between his own life and the life of Gulliver among the pigmies, with the implied moral—"what does it profit thee, to be possessed of genius, to perform thy duties—the little people will not permit thee to use thy strength, even thy freedom seems to them dangerous, and Jonathan Swift is exiled to a deanery in Dublin."[16] . . . The author of *Gulliver* deliberately takes

[15] Sir Leslie Stephen, *Jonathan Swift* (English Men of Letters), p. 168.

[16] Cf. Richard M. Meyer, *Jonathan Swift und G. Ch. Lichtenberg* (monograph, Berlin 1886), pp. 21, 25.



himself as the standard by which the littleness of others may be exposed. Moreover, even when the allegory is not autobiographical, it may still be biographical, and doubtless is in those passages which seem to glance at the career of the Tory leaders with whom Swift felt sympathy: Gulliver is used as a representative of Bolingbroke: the inventory of Gulliver's belongings, made by the Lilliputian king; the capture of the hostile Blefuscudian fleet by Gulliver's prowess; the ingratitude of the government and the subsequent flight of Gulliver to Blefuscu; these and many other incidents can be smoothly interpreted as incidents in the political vicissitudes of Bolingbroke, if we take Lilliput as England and Blefuscu as France; and the slighter passages about the Minister Flimnap's cutting "a caper on the straight rope at least an inch higher than any other lord in the whole empire,"[17] or jumping over a stick for a bit of ribbon, are presumably allusions to Walpole's seeking office and the Order of the Bath. But if Swift wanted to drive home his point in this part of the satire, it is unlikely that he would have permitted the inconvenient and misleading doubling of Gulliver's roles: Gulliver would have been either Swift or Swift's friend, not sometimes one and sometimes the other; and as a matter of fact few critics and readers have supposed that this personal satire is of great moment, especially since it grows very much less perceptible as the book advances, and is at no time wholly certain or subtle in its reference. The truth, of course, or at least the common agreement, is that personal satire and personal vindication were not the main intention of *Gulliver's Travels*: even in the first book the foolery about Bigendians and Littleendians, High-heels and Low-heels, colored ribbons and jumping-contests, is an outgrowth from the main allegory, which consists, quite simply, in the trick of presenting a kingdom in miniature, with the implication that England resembles that kingdom. The original postulate of the allegory is a symbolic circumstance or condition—the condition of size: symbolic action may be added, but it is less essential, and apparently Swift as he worked on realized the peculiar value of the circumstance more and more clearly as a vehicle for universal satire, and trusted it to perform that task. It did perform it, but by what means we must now inquire more closely; for the crux of the interpretation of *Gulliver* lies in our understanding of the psychological effectiveness of physical size as an index to moral or intellectual importance.

[17] *Gulliver's Travels*, ed. Temple Scott and G.R. Dennis, pp. 39 ff.

This last phrase is a heavy one for a light prejudice: what reader does not feel, as he turns the pages of *Gulliver*, that the Lilliputians are amusing simply and mainly because they are small? and that the Brobdingnagians are imposing because big? The prejudice which makes physical pettiness a sign of moral pettiness is so old and inveterate, however often confuted, that Swift can trust it safely enough. His scheme requires no such elaborate justification as he gave to the clothes-philosophy in the *Tale*, and critics have better understood, I think, its scope and validity. Thus Sir Leslie Stephen:

"He strikes the key-note of contempt by his imagery of dwarfs and giants. We despise the petty quarrels of beings six inches high; and therefore we are prepared to despise the wars carried on by a Marlborough or a Eugene. We transfer the contempt based upon mere size to the motives, which are the same in big men and little. The argument, if argument there be, is a fallacy; but it is equally efficacious for the feelings."[18]

So far as Brobdingnag is concerned, Stephen also recognizes that Swift wishes to show moral dignity as before he has shown pettiness, and therefore exhibits human passions in a race seventy feet tall and imposing in proportion. I claim no special novelty for the remark that in *Gulliver* Swift is operating his allegory by an initial assumption, or that, as he applies the assumption, he drives home his satire by the moderate and consistent implication that smallness is pettiness, largeness is dignity.

It has also been noted that he makes use of the contrary prejudice and implication,[19] but I think his critics have not fully realized the effect of the contrariety. In reading Lilliput, we realize that the smallness of the pigmies is only relative to the largeness of Captain Gulliver, and, of course, we realize, but somewhat dimly, that if they are petty it is because he has some dignity. As a matter of fact, we also realize, rather often, that his dignity is questionable, and is not the only quality implied by his relative physical largeness. In other words, the captain often appears clumsy and gross; and, by comparison, the midgets appear dainty: he accommodates himself to an absurd life with slightly ridiculous meekness; they are admirable for the resourcefulness with which they provide food, clothing, and lodging for their huge guest; and their system of education, as Swift lovingly describes it, is not a replica of the English system made

[18] Op. cit., p. 175.

[19] Stephen gives clearer expression to the belief that Swift is mainly trying to "show the grossness of men's passions." He does not lay much stress on the contradiction of Swift's practice.



laughable by reduction in scale, but a pattern of pedagogy.[30] In brief, Lilliput is sometimes a model kingdom in more senses than one: the physical smallness of the inhabitants is meant to predispose our minds in their favor as well as in their disfavor: that is, their smallness is a symbol of excellence as well as of pettiness. A similar contradiction of symbolism has been noticed in the account of Gulliver among the Brobdingnagians: here Gulliver appears as the one midget among many large people, and usually he plays the fool or is in some way derisory on account of his tininess; but the Brobdingnagian giants are also sometimes disgusting on account of their hugeness: the maids of honor and the peasantry are coarse in proportion to their seventy feet. Here is a fine but somewhat bewildering way of playing upon our imaginations and prejudices; what does Swift mean by letting his allegory contradict itself? Does he mean that

little = good	little = bad
big = good	big = bad ?

Apparently some readers have been troubled by a loose screw in this peculiar arithmetic; possibly they lack a taste to which I plead guilty, for the imaginative potency of an Irish bull. But we must soberly admit with Stephen that

"if we insist upon taking the question as one of strict logic, the only conclusion which could be drawn from *Gulliver's Travels* is the very safe one that the interest of the human drama does not depend upon the size of the actors";

that is, the Hibernian equations neutralize and cancel one another. On the other hand, the allegorical validity of the device is certainly real, as Sir Leslie goes on to assert, for Swift " 'proves' nothing, mathematically or otherwise." So long as we are prone to think littleness insignificant or dainty, bigness gross or magnificent, the scheme will work,—provided, of course, that the transition from one idea to its logical contradiction is not made too abruptly. Moreover, Swift is at least consistent in keeping generally uppermost the idea that littleness is the trivial thing, and bigness the important one.

Still, there is a sense in which the lesson of *Gulliver* is that the interest of the human drama does not depend upon the size of the actors: the book has somewhat the duality of meaning which I indicated in the *Tale*: the irony of appearances runs counter to the allegory, which assists the irony by a greater ambiguity or contradiction

[30] *Gulliver*, p. 62.



than is inherent in the clothes-philosophy. To some critics, therefore, the ironical interpretation has quite reasonably appealed. Hazlitt betrays his feeling by referring to the condition of physical dimension, which would impress most people as concrete, as the "*abstract* predicament of size," and thinks that Swift's purpose was to "strip empty pride and grandeur of the imposing air which external circumstances throw around them."[21] Another commentator[22] declares that the moral is, whether "man is three inches or three miles high, he remains man, that is, a presumptuous zero." Such an idea is certainly Swiftian, and is sometimes conveyed, I daresay, by the allegory of big and little, which are neither good nor bad when thinking makes them seem both.

In another sense, moreover, the symbolism of Brobdingnag and Lilliput, as it is more pliant than that of the *Tale*, is also more catholic; and the satire, less narrow in consequence, is likewise more humane and often more agreeable. The prejudice in favor of clothes and films is less firmly fixed in our minds than the prejudice regarding the moral value of size; but the latter prejudice admits of more easy interpretation and sometimes of suspension or contradiction. Hence the artistic difference, often enough observed, between the *Tale* and *Gulliver:* the *Tale* is in some ways the clearer and keener satire, *Gulliver* is much the more interesting story. Yet in the long run I question whether even the satiric import of Gulliver suffers so greatly from ambiguity or the dominance of narrative interest: satire is a precarious *genre* and must make sacrifices to retain its influence. Much of the popularity of Gulliver is due to its resemblance to a yarn of strange adventures; in consequence of that popularity it has carried its satiric message to many a reader who knows nothing about the other work of Swift, and carries it because the face-value of the story remains for the most part uninjured while the satire is inculcated. Among the pigmies and giants we are persuaded to judge human character by physical appearance rather than by action; the physical appearance is a charming postulate, and the action, not too closely confined to definite symbolic meaning, wanders into pleasant by-paths of mere fancy.

The advantage of this concession to narrative, and the disadvantage of an unnatural symbolic assumption, are illustrated in the last

[21] *Lectures on the English Comic Poets* (Collected Works, London, 1902-06), p. 110; quoted by Stephen.

[22] Cf. Meyer, *loc. cit.*



voyage of *Gulliver*, wherein he visits the land of rational horses and irrational men. His third voyage, to Laputa, may be passed over without discussion in this essay, for it lacks consistent and well-developed symbolism.

IV. Man and Beast

The *Roman de Renart* contains a delightful passage in which the fox is tried before the great court of Noble the lion for high crimes and misdemeanors unworthy of a true knight. In connection with the proceedings one of Renard's victims, a chicken foully slain, is interred with the ceremonies of ecclesiastical burial, while the ass furnishes the knell. The derision of medieval jurisprudence and religious ritual is very gentle: but it is satiric and allegorical: the forms and ceremonies are presented to us through the somewhat debasing medium of a comedy in which beasts take the place of human beings. The device is common enough, and varies from the even gentler innuendoes of *The Nun's Priest's Tale* to the harsh inferences of *The Hind and the Panther:* in most instances where the device appears we are expected to conceive of the beasts as living below the ordinary level of humanity, but dragging down humanity to that level. Furthermore, that this process of degradation is psychologically natural may be confirmed if we examine those instances in which animals are used rather as visionary symbols than as satiric: Chaucer's Tercel Eagle is not easily made magnificent; Dryden's Hind is by no means a wholly alluring representation of the Catholic church, despite the alleged beauties of her appearance and character. Although it is certainly true that such creatures can be used with success as symbols that lead toward vision and glory, yet it is also true, I think, that representation of the beast's physical nature is more normally used to debase than to elevate the humanity which is symbolized.

Why then does Swift, in the fourth book of *Gulliver's Travels*, reverse that normal inference? Why is it that in Houyhnhnmland the creatures called Yahoos have the physical characteristics of men, but are much less to be admired than the Houyhnhnms, who have the physical characteristics of horses? Various explanations have been offered; the simplest is to deny or seek to mitigate the apparent physical resemblance between Yahoo and man. Thus an apologist for Swift's misanthropy may write dissertations

"to prove that by altering the physical characteristics of this race their likeness to humanity has been mutilated, and that therefore they are not meant by Swift to be a satire on his own species."[23]

The answer to this is that, although some changes are made, they are all in keeping with the essential physical constitution of man, and merely emphasize his natural depravities or bring out a physical odiousness which is latent in his body: if the Yahoos are not men, what on earth are they? and why does Swift insist unremittingly on their correspondence to humanity? These questions lead at once to a second interpretation, which may be rather too vehemently expressed by Churton Collins, but is certainly acceptable to most readers:

"Nothing can be plainer than that these odious and repulsive creatures were designed to be types, not of man, as man when brutalized and degenerate may become, but of man as man is naturally constituted."[24]

A third interpretation seeks a compromise, inclining perhaps toward the first opinion, by laying stress on the fact that throughout Gulliver's four voyages, Swift tends to treat his allegorical figures less and less as realistic types of human beings, more and more as abstractions: therefore in Houyhnhnmland we have a sort of war between virtues and vices, like the conflict in the morality play, with the Houyhnhnms symbolizing the abstract perfection of humanity and the Yahoos symbolizing the abstracted baseness. There is much truth in this view: the full truth may lie somewhere between it and that entertained by Collins. At any rate, one thing is fairly evident: Swift does reverse the usual assumption of beast-satire by making the horses admirable, and he does so to support the thesis that the boasted physical perfection of man offers no guarantee of moral and rational perfection. He supports that thesis further by denying even the reality of the physical supremacy of man, which to him is no Shekinah; he carries out his usual policy of letting the odious and contemptible material features of his symbol stand as a representation of internal moral decadence; but he is nevertheless working at variance with the psychological prejudices which he had so deftly observed in the clothes-philosophy and the allegory of size, for we are not easily persuaded that men are intrinsically below beasts in the scale of physical creation.

There can be no doubt that in this reversal of policy he was acting somewhat under the influence of de Bergerac. The species of beast-allegory which is also a beast-Utopia is not a common one, and,

[23] Such a work is mentioned by S. S. Smith, *Dean Swift* (London 1910), p. 234.
[24] Collins, *Jonathan Swift* (London 1893), p. 209.



although foreshadowed somewhat in the beast-literature, reaches a more definite form in de Bergerac's visit to the land of the sun and of the birds. The exact extent of de Bergerac's influence has been much discussed,[25] and it is not necessary to my argument to broach the whole question here: the point is simply that in the Frenchman's satire men are made ridiculous by letting them appear to physical disadvantage in a more or less ideal commonwealth of other creatures—creatures which, according to our habitual estimate, are of less physical prowess than men. And, were it not for the fact that our conception of Swift's peculiar pessimism would be incomplete without the fourth book of *Gulliver*, which de Bergerac helped him to project, we might be tempted to regret the suggestion. Skilfully and powerfully as Swift supports his postulate that horses are physical paragons and men clumsy brutes, the postulate is in its nature less supportable than those underlying the *Tale of a Tub* and the first two books of *Gulliver's Travels*; in that fact lies the secret of its unsuccess in allegory.

The ironic counter-current which is present in his other allegories is also present here; perhaps it is unfortunate that it does not flow more freely. The evident grotesqueness of the Houyhnhnms, which made them seem very repellent paragons to critics like Sir Walter Scott[26] and Coleridge, might have been subtly used to imply that equine and human perfection are alike vanity. Something of the kind is implied: we gather a dim notion that in his republic of quadrupeds the constitution is flawless and the executive department grotesque because he wanted to imply that reason has no home on earth: but this implication is not often discernible in the midst of his exaltation of the brute-nature,—an exaltation which seems meant for the constant degradation, by contrast, of man-nature.

V. Conclusions

I may now try to sum up the results of the analysis I have attempted. As a satirist, Swift demonstrated, I believe, that the satiric allegory adheres most closely to its essential function when it operates by some popular prejudice and beguiles the reader's fancy with symbols which do not represent but speciously misrepresent the objects for which they stand. It is a fallacy that religion or creed is a tawdry coat;

[25] See especially the articles by Hönncher and Borkowsky in *Anglia* x and xv.

[26] Cf. his *Memoir* of Swift (London, republished 1883-87), p. 338 f. Coleridge's very interesting comments on *Gulliver* have been printed by Mr. G. A. Aitken in the *Athenaeum*, 1896, 2:224 (Aug. 15, 1896).

that politicians are physical pigmies; that the typical Englishman or European is an overgrown Brobdingnagian booby, or a toy in the hands of a giant; but these fallacious persuasions with which we are subtly indoctrinated are strangely potent and consistent, and they owe their effectiveness to the "law of mental halting" by which we accept their validity. No other satirist, I think, so fully developes so neat a system for exhibiting the pomposities of life through its meannesses—a system by which the symbols, varied as they may be, are kept remorselessly before us until the things symbolized are stained and degraded. No doubt this rigorous policy of detraction has its artistic shortcomings: aside from the flaws in the assumption of equine perfection in Houyhnhnmland, there are other cases when the assumption is too faultily faultless or too imaginatively narrow: Swift, as everyone knows, has offended by his exhibition of the great through the small, the worthy through the unworthy, the universal and eternal through the local and transient. But although his allegory may thus lack some of the human freedom in the looser schemes of men like Langland or Rabelais, he surpasses them in that he avails himself of the limitations native to allegory and makes them serve his satiric purpose. It is natural that the reader should think of the sign rather than the thing signified, of the tawdry coat rather than the exalted religion. So, by Swift's method, are the dogmas made to seem as cheap as the coat. And if sometimes (as in this instance) Swift's plan carried him beyond himself in the dishonoring of what is worthy of honor, let us remember how often and how well he used it for the shaming of what is worthy of shame.

H. M. DARGAN.

The University of North Carolina.

NOTES FROM THE ENGLISH SEMINAR

I. Drayton's "Eighth Nymphal"

In the following note I shall show how Drayton in the *Eighth Nymphal* of *The Muses' Elizium* has combined with the pastoral world another world of which he is a chief spokesman—the world of fairy. In this pastoral nymphal, which is built somewhat on the model of *The Shepherd's Calender*, but which exhibits a "freer and more spontaneous vein"[1] than is found in the orthodox pastoral, Drayton introduces a fairy in conjunction with certain characters of a pastoral type. He represents a marriage between Tita, who dwells in Elizium, the home of the nymphs; and a fairy, who belongs to the kingdom of Queen Mab. In order to rationalize this strange wedding engagement Drayton reduces the size of the nymph, Tita, until "she is of the fairy kind." She is to marry a "dwarfish fairy elf," of the "noblest of the fairy." The preparation of her wedding clothes, of the prothalamion, of the marriage supper, and of the music for the fairy wedding is made by Mertilla, Claia, and Cloris, the three nymphs who are the speakers in the pastoral dialogue.

The introduction of a fairy elf into the pastoral realm, where he woos the fairy nymph, serves, therefore, to coördinate the pastoral and fairy worlds. The question of the originality of Drayton in thus making this combination of the fairy and pastoral elements, and of the precedents he may have had in mind in making such a union has not, so far as I know, been discussed. That he associated fairies with pastoral poetry is not strange, however, for there is a sort of kinship existing between fairies on the one hand and shepherds, nymphs, and woodland characters on the other. The forest that provides a haunt for the fauns and satyrs is also the legitimate home of the rural fairy. The coupling of forest elves with nymphs is not a *tour de force*, but the natural association of two classes of beings whose traits are similar.

I shall now discuss some steps in the evolution of the fairy-pastoral type of poem and show how the pure pastoral of Theocritus and Virgil has been so modified as to give us a poem like the *Eighth Nymphal*. The first advance in the direction of the fairy-pastoral combination was made when the element of witchcraft was added to the Theocritean and the Virgilian pastoral. The plot in both the second idyl of Theocritus and the eighth eclogue of Virgil is based on the fact that a girl who has lost her lover invokes the aid of magic in an effort to

[1] Greg: *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama*, London, 1906, p. 106.



regain her lost lord. For example, in the second idyl of Theocritus, *The Sorceress*, the girl speaks thus:

"Where are the bay-leaves, Thestylis, and the charms
Fetch all; with fiery wool the caldron crown;
Let glamour win me back my false lord's heart.
. . . .
All hail, dread Hecatè: companion me
Unto the end, and work me witcheries
Potent as Circe or Medea wrought,
Or Perimede of the golden hair!
Turn, magic wheel, draw homeward him I love."[2]

Again, in the eighth eclogue of Virgil magic is invoked as a means of getting Daphnis back home from the city.

"Fetch water: wreathe yon altar with soft wool;
And burn rich vervain and brave frankincense";[3]

In these pastorals the homely, present world shepherd is brought into contact with the magic of the other world. A new and romantic element is added to the realistic shepherd life common to certain other idyls. It is easy to see, then, how the pastoral character should some day come to be associated with fairies, who are not "human mortals" at all, but, like witches, beings of the other world.

The next step in the development of the pastoral poem of the nature of Drayton's *Eighth Nymphal* is the tendency of Renaissance and Elizabethan literature to couple fairies with certain characters historically associated with the pastoral, such characters, for instance, as satyrs and nymphs. Spenser is the first great English pastoralist who has, so far as I have observed, constituted a definite bond between the fairy people and the pastoral nymphs. He represents the fairies and the nymphs as members of the same community, closely allied in their playful natures.

"Here no night Rauens, nor ghastly owls doe flee.
But frendly Faeries, met with many Graces,
And lightfote Nymphes can chace the lingring night,
With Heydeguyes, and trimly trodden traces."[4]

This conjunction of fairies and nymphs is, however, only an approach to the complete pastoral and fairy union which we have in Drayton's

[2] *Theocritus and Virgil's Eclogues*, trans. Calverley, London, 1913. Idyll II, ll. 1-3; 17-21.

[3] Virgil: Eclogue viii, ll. 69-71. In his fairy poem *Nymphidia* Drayton had already introduced conventional magic into fairy land. The fairy Nymphidia is a magician. Her paraphernalia of magical instruments consists of fern-seed, vervain, dill, juice of rue, etc. For a charm she crawls under a brier three times and leaps over it three times. Compare this lore with the *Fifth Nymphal*:

"Here holy vervayne, and here dill,
'Gainst witchcraft much availing,"

[4] Aeglogue vi, l. 24; *The Poetical Works of Spenser*, Oxford ed., 1912.

See also *Faerie Queene* Bk. vi, c. x. st. 7. "But nymphs and Faeries by the bancks did sit."

nymphal, where the nymphs are made characters in a semi-conventional pastoral poem.

The association of "frendly faeries" with their pastoral cousins is prominent in Ben Jonson. In *The Satyr* we read that "Here he (the Satyr) ran into the wood again and hid himself, whilst to the sound of excellent soft music, that was concealed in the thicket, there came tripping up the lawn a bevy of Faeries, attending on Mab their queen." The interesting part of *The Satyr* from our standpoint is the addition of the character of Silene, the Satyr, to the list of those pastoral figures which the poets ordinarily associate with fairies. The satyr, although known in literature from Hesiod downwards, is first given a place in pastoral literature in the sixth eclogue of Virgil, where he is known as Silenus. He is connected with the fairy in Jonson's *The Masque of Oberon*, where the satyrs claim Oberon, the fairy prince, as the height of their race.

The Sad Shepherd[5] contains a curious but a successful combination of the Robin Hood forester group, a company of shepherds, Robin Goodfellow, or Puck-Hairy, and a witch named Maudlin. The thing that Jonson has accomplished in this play is the union of pastoral and forest traditions. The pastoral characters in the play are simple rustics, not having reached the status of artificial pastoral actors, as they do later in Drayton. Of this concept of fairies and foresters and shepherds as members of a single group Greg says: "I cannot myself but regard the elements of witchcraft and fairy employed by Jonson as far more in harmony not only with Robin Hood and his men, but also with the shepherds of Belvoir vale, than would have been the oracles, satyrs, and other outworn machinery of regular pastoral tradition."[6]

In the same year in which Jonson's *Satyr* was published William Percy wrote a play called *The Fairy Pastoral*,[7] a stupid tale involving Oberon and a princess of the Forest of Elves.

In Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess* the fairy is mentioned as inhabiting the groves along with goblins, wood-gods, and satyrs. In this play there is a satyr in charge of the forest who punishes lustful persons by having the fairies pinch them.[8]

[5] *The Sad Shepherd* was not published until 1640 and consequently cannot have influenced Drayton's *Eighth Nymphal*, which was published in 1630.

[6] Greg, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

[7] The title of this play suggests a close union of the fairy with the pastoral tradition, but I cannot say how close the connection is, since the play is not accessible to me. See Greg, p. 344.

[8] As a further illustration of the use pastoralists make of the fairies see Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals* Bk. I; Song iv; also Bk. II, Song iv.

"Now wanders Pan the arched groves and hills,
Where fayries often danc'd and shepherds' quills
In sweet contentions pass'd the tedious day."



It is evident from the foregoing illustrations that Drayton's predecessors and contemporaries had established a connection between the fairies and nymphs, satyrs, shepherds, foresters, and other woodland beings. There is no originality, therefore, in his appropriating the fairies for use in pastoral literature. The fairy-pastoral tradition, and what amounts to practically the same thing, the witch-pastoral tradition, is well preserved from Theocritus and Virgil to Spenser;[9] from Spenser to Jonson; and from Jonson to Drayton.[10] Drayton's originality does appear, however, in the fact that in his fairy-pastoral *Eighth Nymphal* he has introduced fairies into a conventional pastoral poem that retains the form of the pastorals of Theocritus and Virgil This applies particularly to the preservation of the pastoral dialogue. In placing his fairies against the background of pastoral Drayton has besides keeping fairy poetry from becoming stale given a charming freshness to the artificial pastoral. This treatment of the pastoral serves in part to justify Drayton's own remark that his pastorals were "bold upon a new strain."[11]

EDGAR LONG.

The University of North Carolina.

[9] Drayton knew the pastoral tradition thoroughly. In the foreword to *The Shepherd's Garland* he says: "The Greek pastorals of Theocritus have the chief praise. . . . Spenser is the prime Pastoralist of England."

[10] Other examples in Drayton of the association of fairies with pastoral beings are found in Polyolbion, Song xxi, beginning, "Of all the British vales, etc."; the fourth eclogue of *The Shepherd's Garland*; and in the tenth nymphal of *The Muses' Elizium*, where the fairies are at play with the cloven-footed fauns.

[11] Preface to the *Eclogues*.

II. Two Notes on English Classicism

A. *Jonson's "Sejanus"*

1. *Scope of Action.* It is a cardinal principle of Greek tragedy to open with its hero either at the zenith of his fortune or on his downward career. It never opens as does *Macbeth* with its hero on his upward career. Thus Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* begins with Oedipus already king of Thebes and the children of the city at the door of his palace with sacrificial garlands pleading through the Priest for Oedipus to do something to ward off the city's plague. Here Oedipus is at the height of his fortune. It is only later that we learn how he became king.[1] In no case in Greek tragedy is the hero ascending to a happier state.

English tragedy, as is well known, had a type of plot very different in scope of action from that used by the ancients. It showed the inception of the hero's plots, their execution, and the result he reaped. We find only one remark by Jonson in regard to the action in tragedy and that rather suggests that he preferred the type used by the moderns. "The action in tragedy and comedy," he says,[2] "should be let grow until the necessity asks for a conclusion; wherein two things are to be considered: (1) that it exceed not the compass of one day, and (2) that there be place left for digression and art." Although this statement may apply to any type of plot, the type which begins with the hero on his upward career has greater room for growth and always gives much time and space to this growth.

In *Sejanus* Jonson uses the modern type of plot. At the opening of the play Sejanus is not yet at the zenith of his fortune. In Act I, sc. ii he is given higher honors by Tiberius. We are permitted to see Sejanus plotting in Acts I and II to kill Drusus, Germanicus' sons, Silius and Cordus, afterwards to marry Drusus' wife, Livia, and finally to get control of the empire after he has persuaded Tiberius, the Emperor, to retire to the ease of country life. Thus he is making his way to the goal of his ambition, absolute rule. We hear from Sejanus himself, rather than from a messenger as in the classical tragedies, the revelation of his character and purposes.[3] If Jonson had followed in scope of action the practice of the ancients, he could

[1] Cf. also the plots of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, and Sophocles' *Ajax*.

[2] *Timber*. Vol. IX, page 243 of *Jonson's Works*, ed. Gifford, London, 1816.

[3] Act I, Sc. ii, page 329; Act II, Sc. ii, page 342; ibid. page 351; Act III, Sc. ii, page 378; Act V, Sc. i, page 404 and Act V, Sc. iii, page 420. The Mermaid Series, edited by Nicholson and Herford, is referred to in this discussion.

not have begun *Sejanus* with any scene prior to Act V, sc. i, where Sejanus is exulting in his triumphs while omens very dubious for him are being given in another part of the city. In this particular, then, Jonson deserted the ancient practice and adhered to the modern.

2. *The Unities of Time and Place.* Another principle of Greek tragedy is, according to Aristotle,[4] that the time encompassed by the tragedy should "keep as far as possible within a single circuit of the sun or *something near that.*" In practice the ancients observed the unity of place of which Aristotle makes no mention. In theory Jonson adheres to the doctrine of the unities. As noted above[5] he said one of the two things to be considered in the growth of an action is "that it exceeds not the compass of one day." Here he seems to be adhering more rigidly to the rule than Aristotle even. In *Volpone* he says:[6]

> "The laws of time, place, persons he observeth,
> From no *needful* rule he swerveth."

Here he shows a more liberal attitude towards the rule.[7] Jonson's real attitude toward the unity of time will be found, it seems, in a mean between a strict observance and a gross violation of it. In his preface *To The Readers* prefixed to *Sejanus* he confesses that *Sejanus* is no true poem in the strict laws of time. He then defends this violation in the same paragraph as follows: "Nor is it needful, or almost possible, in these our times, and to such auditors as commonly things are presented, to observe the old state and splendor of dramatic poems with any preservation of popular delight."

In *Sejanus* Jonson does not observe the unities of time and place.[8] Time enough is used for Sejanus to win Livia to his side and with her to plot her husband's death and execute the plot. He turns Tiberius against Germanicus' sons and also against Silius and Cordus so that they are tried, convicted and slain, and proposes marriage to Livia. Tiberius after committing the affairs of state to Macro goes to Capreae where he is visited by Macro and they together plot Sejanus' fall, which Macro executes. All this might take place in thirty days, or it might extend over years. The fact to note is that it could not happen within one revolution of the sun, nor anything near that.

[4] *Poetics*, ch. V, page 15. Bywater's edition and trans., New York, 1909.

[5] See page 4.

[6] The epilogue.

[7] Jonson's most inclusive comment on the unity of time is in the prologue to *Every Man in His Humor* where he speaks of "making a child now swaddled to proceed," etc.

[8] The unity of action laid down by Aristotle is not discussed here because the tragedies under discussion observe it.



The unity of place is adhered to in about the same spirit as the unity of time, neither strictly nor loosely. The scenes in *Sejanus* are laid in various parts of Rome, never without the city. In Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* Act III alone, the scene is laid at random in Rome, Alexandria, Syria, Actium, and Athens. In Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, on the other hand, the scene throughout the entire play is before Oedipus' palace in Thebes. Hence we find the unity of place not observed in *Sejanus* as strictly as in classical tragedy nor as loosely as in Shakespeare.

3. *Kind of Plot—Simple or Complex.* "A perfect tragedy," says Aristotle,"[9] should be arranged not on the simple but on the complex plan." By complex he means one which has a reversal or recognition scene by means of which the action is veered around.[10] An example of such a reversal as is meant is found in Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Upon the death of Polybus, King of Corinth and reputed father of Oedipus, a messenger is sent to tell Oedipus he has been named king of Corinth. Oedipus says he is afraid to go on account of an oracle which said he should slay his father and marry his mother. The messenger, hoping to remove Oedipus' fears and cheer him, assures him that the Queen is not his real mother and thus reveals to Oedipus his wretchedness and disgrace.

In *Sejanus* Jonson has used a plot arranged on a complex plan. All Sejanus' schemes have been successfully executed and he is swollen with pride. After making his most insolent boast, he enters Apollo's temple amid vociferous acclamations to receive his highest honors, but is haled out, deprived of every honor, and wretchedly slain.[11] Thus in using the highest type of plot Jonson has produced a tragic effect which closely resembles that found in classical tragedy.

4. *The Number of Characters.* The characters employed in Greek tragedy were comparatively few. The number varied from three and a chorus in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus to eleven and a chorus in the *Rhesus* of Euripides. In *Sejanus* there are thirty-four named characters, and an indefinite number of others. Jonson disregards the example of the ancients in this particular in both *Sejanus* and *Catiline*.

[9] *Poetics*. Ch. xiii, p. 45; Butcher's ed. and trans.

[10] *Ibid.*, Ch. x, p. 39.

[11] In *Lear* Shakespeare used a plot complex in the Aristotelian sense. At the close of Act IV Cordelia, Kent, and Lear are reconciled, and everything is seemingly so much against Goneril and Regan that we feel all is going to turn out well. Then before we can read a hundred lines Lear, Cordelia, and their allies are brought in imprisoned. Thus the very thing we thought would settle everything ruins everything.



5. *Disposition of the Chorus.* Another important part of Greek tragedy is the chorus. The classical theory of the chorus' function, according to Aristotle,[12] was that it "should be regarded as one of the actors; it should be an integral part of the whole and share in the action not in the manner of Euripides but of Sophocles." Through the chorus as an actor the author interpreted to the audience anything in regard to the play that needed interpretation and expressed his own feelings on any subject.[13]

In regard to the chorus in tragedy we have one remark from Jonson which shows he was conscious of at least a choric element in *Sejanus*. In his preface prefixed to *Sejanus* he says: "If it be objected that what I publish is no true poem in the strict laws of time I confess it; as also in the want of a *proper* chorus." But though Jonson uses in *Sejanus*, no chorus in the strict sense, he does use the the characters Arruntius, Silius, and Sabinus to give a distinct chorus effect. These characters, like the classical chorus, interpret or explain to the audience, and also show the dramatist's feelings. The parts of these characters will show this use clearly. The first three and a half pages until Arruntius comes in are taken up by Silius and Sabinus in explaining to the audience the rottenness of the court life. In Act 1 sc.i Sabinus says:

"We have no shift of faces, no cleft tongues,
No soft and glutinous bodies, that can stick
Like snails on painted walls; or, on our breasts,
Creep up, to fall from that proud height to which
We did by slavery, not by service climb.
We are no guilty men, and then no great;
We have no place in court, office in state
That we can say we owe unto our crimes:"

The entire part of Silius and Sabinus contains some such information for the audience. Arruntius next enters and after listening to their discourse exclaims:

"Times! the men,
The men are not the same! 'tis we are base,
Poor and degenerate from the exalted strain
Of our great fathers. Where is now the soul
Of God-like Cato?"

He continues for several lines more in this manner. Here we are sure that Jonson is giving vent to his own feelings. Throughout the entire play Jonson has observed the choric element in these characters so completely that their part could be eliminated from

[12] *Poetics*, Ch. XVIII, page 69. Butcher's ed. and trans. London, 1911.
[13] Cf. Choruses in Sophocles' *Antigone*.

the play without injuring the plot or rendering the story unintelligible. But it would seriously injure the effect of the play to eliminate their part.

A less concrete and less definite similarity between Jonson's characters, Silius, Sabinus, and Arruntius, and the Greek chorus will become apparent if we notice the length of the speeches of these characters where they are alone on the stage. The dialogue in Act I scene I between Silius and Sabinus will illustrate what I mean, and is a fair example of the speeches made by these characters throughout the play when they take the chief part. Excepting the speeches which contain single or double lines used as exclamations or address, the number of lines in the speeches are as follows: Sabinus 17 lines, Silius 20 lines, Sabinus 15 lines, and Silius 15 lines. That is, whatever length speech the character makes who begins, the following character replies in one of practically identical length. This corresponds strikingly to the strophe and antistrophe of the Greek chorus. This antithetical balancing of speeches between the choric characters is noticeable whenever these characters are engaged in interpreting to the audience or acting as a spokesman for the author. Where they are in conversation with some principal character or are meeting and addressing each other or are disagreeing as in the latter part of Act IV sc. v, this balancing of one speech with another is not so marked. It should be noticed, however, that Jonson does not carry this to the extreme of having each answer to a character contain the same number of lines that the preceding speech had. He seems to have been so familiar with Greek tragedies that some sense of balance and antithesis had become a part of him.

6. *The Moving Force Which Brings about the Tragedy.* The cardinal moving force in Greek tragedy is *ὕβρις*. The Greeks regarded *ὕβρις* as the result of some impious act committed by the victim of it. The man committed *δυσσεβία* or impiety, an act which begat in him a young *ὕβρις*. Nemesis, then, the goddess who never failed to see to it that each man received his dues, would send Ate who by fawning smiles and such dissimulations lured the victim of *ὕβρις* into his ruin.

Jonson has demonstrated very powerfully in *Sejanus* the idea of *ὕβρις* as an impelling force in tragedy. Sejanus' soliloquies show how hopelessly overcome with *ὕβρις* he is. After he has won Livia to his side and has everything in order to kill her husband he says:

"On, then, my soul, and start not in thy course;
Though heaven drop sulphur, and hell belch out fire,
Laugh at the idle terrors; tell proud Jove,
Between his power and thine there is no odds:
'Twas only fear first in the world made gods."

After he has had five men slain, persuaded Tiberius to retire to the country and planned his marriage with Livia he says again:[14]

". . . . . By you that fools call gods,
Hang all the sky with your prodigious signs,
Fill earth with monsters, drop the scorpion down,
Out of the zodiac, or the fiercer lion,
Shake off the loosened globe from her long hinge,
Roll all the world in darkness, and let loose
The enraged winds to turn up groves and towns!
When I do fear again, let me be struck
With forked fire, and unpitied die:"

We feel he has reached the summit of insolence and arrogance and that his next step must be downward or to success. He then enters Apollo's temple confident that he will come out with all his dreams realized, but is stripped of all his power, dragged out, and wretchedly slain. Thus he is swept by his arrogance into destruction.

The idea of ὕβρις lends itself naturally to a treatment of the character as a type rather than as an individual. It does not have to do with ridding the country of some pest and rectifying matters as is found in *Macbeth*, for instance, but the rule may pass to a worse man as in the case of *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Agamemnon*. Jonson has portrayed in Sejanus an example of over-weening arrogance striding to its fall. The affairs of state are entrusted to Macro, a much meaner man than Sejanus, and all is as unsettled as at first. We are assured that Jonson was interested in the type by the closing six lines of this play.

"Let this example move the insolent man
Not to grow proud and careless of the gods.
It is an odious wisdom to blaspheme,
Much more to slighten, or deny their power;
For whom the morning saw so great and high
Thus low and little, 'fore the even doth lie."

The last seven lines of *Oedipus Tyrannus* have somewhat the same feeling.

In conclusion we have found that *Sejanus* differs from classical tragedy in three respects and agrees with it in three. The two are

[14] Act V, Scene vi.

unlike in that: (1) classical tragedies begin with the hero in the zenith of his fortune or on his downward career, while *Sejanus* begins with the hero making his way to a happier state; (2) classical tragedies usually observe the unities of time and place, which are not adhered to in *Sejanus* as closely as in Greek tragedy nor as loosely as in Shakespeare; and (3) while the Greek tragedians never employed more than eleven characters and a chorus, *Sejanus* has thirty-four characters, and various groups. The two agree (1) in having a complex, and not a simple plot, (2) in portraying the individual as a type rather than as an individual by use of ὕβρις, and (3) in having a choric element and effect.

B. Samson Agonistes

1. *Scope of Action.* The scope of action in *Samson Agonistes* is identical with that used in classical tragedy. The play opens with the hero blind, in captivity, and wearing manacles. We must read through line 293 to get his history down to the opening of the play.[15]

2. *The Unities of Time and Place.* In his preface Milton says that "the circumscription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is, according to the ancient rule and best example, within the space of twenty-four hours." Like Aristotle he does not mention the unity of place. In the *Samson*, however, both unities are strictly observed. The scene throughout the play is before the prison in Gaza. We know that all the events take place in one day because in lines 11-14 we are told explicitly that Samson is relieved from his toil because the day is holy to Dagon, and it is at their games in his honor that Samson slays the Philistines and himself.

3. *Kind of Plot—Simple or Complex.* We saw that according to Aristotle a perfect tragedy must have a complex plot. In the preface to *Samson* Milton makes this comment: "Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit,—which is nothing indeed but such economy, or disposition of the fable, as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum—they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides," etc. This remark about the plot whether intricate or

[15] It is well to note that in each of his dramatic sketches for *Paradise Lost* Milton chose a plot whose scope of action was similar to that used by the ancients and in *Samson* too. For a brief of these sketches see Masson's *The Life of John Milton* Vol. II, pp. 106 ff. The drafts of *Paradise Lost* as a tragedy were made when Milton was about thirty-three years of age. This shows how early he felt the ancient type of plot to be the best.



explicit, has been identified with Aristotle's complex and simple by Mr. Percival and others.[16]

An examination of this tragedy shows that the plot is complex. It has a very powerful reversal. The events leading up to the catastrophe (the visits and efforts of Manoa, the coming of Delila, and the discovery of her deceit, the threats Harapha incites Samson to make, and the fruitless errand of the officer) heighten the hero's character and make his friends fear for him. Then Samson's submission to the officer and Manoa's arrival expressing the high hopes he has of his son's freedom build up the impression that all is going well for Samson. But while the chorus and Manoa are discoursing on Samson's liberty and what joy it will bring to his parents they are interrupted by a shout so horrible that it seems a "universal groan," and before they speak thirty lines more, a messenger appears to tell how Samson has slain himself and the Philistines.

4. *The Number of Characters.* In the *Samson* Milton has followed the ancients in having very few characters. There are only six characters and a chorus in this tragedy, which is about normal for Greek tragedy.

5. *Disposition of Chorus.* Milton informs us in the preface to *Samson* that the "chorus is introduced after the Greek manner, not ancient only, but modern, and still in use among the Italians. The measure used in the chorus is of all sorts, called by the Greeks *Monostrophic*, or rather *Apolelymenon* without regard had to *Strophe*, *Antistrophe*, or *Epode*,—which were a kind of stanzas framed only for the music, then used with a chorus that sung; not essential to the poem and, therefore not material; or, being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be called *Alloeostropha*."[17] The last statement implies that Milton was conscious of the fact that his choruses contained at least irregular stanzas, and an examination shows that they contain in most cases very marked breaks which may be well considered as the close of stanzas, and that these stanzas, though incapable of strict arrangement into strophe and antistrophe, do yet give a marked strophic and antistrophic effect. The first chorus is divisible roughly into strophe, lines 115-134; antistrophe, lines 135-150; and epode, lines 151-175. Thus we have a strophe of 20 lines, an antistrophe of 16 lines, and an epode of 25 lines. The theme of the

[16] *Samson Agonistes*, edited with introduction and notes by H. M. Percival, page 60. References throughout this discussion are to this edition.

[17] For a discussion of these three words see Percival's edition of *Samson Agonistes* page 59. London and New York, 1906.

strophe is: what an unspeakable change! can this be the irresistible Samson who unarmed put to flight the enemy's entire army; the counter theme in the antistrophe: whenever he fled like a lion from his camp the man who stood aloof was the safest; with the jaw of a dead ass he slew a thousand Philistines and then pulled up and bore off the gates of Azza up the hill by Hebron. In this division it will be noticed that the strophe is four lines longer than the antistrophe. The first two lines of the strophe, however, are used rather as a signal for the chorus to begin their comment. It begins:

"This, this is he; softly a while;
Let us not break in upon him."

then the real chorus comment begins:

"Oh change beyond report, thought or belief!"

This leaves the strophe only two lines longer than the antistrophe—a fact which bears out Milton's assertion in the preface that he did not regard the division as essential, but which is also a rather forceful indication of how much a part of him his classical learning had become. Following this antistrophe we have what we may call an epode of twenty-five lines. The epode in Greek tragedy is not confined to any restrictions of any preceding stanza as is the antistrophe, but is an irregular stanza. Its theme here is especially fitting and clearly marked off from the rest of the ode. If we imagine that the strophe is sung as the chorus moves from right to left lamenting the change and recalling the former invincibility of Samson who is now blind and captured and that the antistrophe is sung as it moves from left to right recounting two of his former feats of strength, how could it begin an epode more fittingly than this?

"Which shall I first bewail—
Thy bondage or lost sight,
Prison within prison
Inseparably dark?"

The remaining choruses can be divided with as much reason and the themes and balances are as clearly marked. I shall, however, only suggest the divisions of each.

The second chorus seems capable of two different divisions: (1) strophe, lines 293-306; antistrophe, lines 307-321; and epode, lines 322-329; or (2) strophe, lines 293-299; antistrophe, lines 300-6; strophe, lines 307-14; antistrophe, lines 315-21; strophe lines 322-25; and antistrophe, lines 326-9. In this ode the divisions have more nearly the same number of lines. Divided into strophe, antistrophe,

and epode, the number of lines in each respectively is: 14, 15 and 8. According to the second division the number of lines is as follows: strophe, 7 lines, antistrophe, 7 lines; strophe, 8 lines, antistrophe, 7 lines, strophe, 4 lines and antistrophe, 4 lines.

Chorus three is capable of one division only: strophe, lines 652-66, antistrophe, lines 667-86; strophe, lines 687-704, and antistrophe, lines 705-24. The number of lines each contains respectively is: 15, 20; 18, 20.

In chorus four the division is much harder to arrive at with any degree of definiteness. It is capable of three divisions and possibly four. I shall give only the one which seems to me most marked by the thought: strophe, lines 1010-33, antistrophe, lines 1034-45; strophe, lines 1046-52, and antistrophe, lines 1053-60. The number of lines in each, taken in order, is: 24, 12, 7, and 8. Here the first strophe is twice the length of its antistrophe.

The fifth chorus can have one division only: strophe, lines 1268-86; antistrophe, lines 1287-96; epode, lines 1297-07. The number of lines each contains respectively is: 19, 10, and 11. Here again the strophe is practically double the length of its antistrophe. This antithetical balance is preserved in the semi-chorus too. The strophe of the semi-chorus has 18 lines and the antistrophe 21.

The chorus in *Samson* interprets to the audience and serves as a vehicle for the author to express his views as did the Greek chorus. As Mr. Moody has shown in his introduction,[18] Milton has followed Sophocles in having each choral ode organically connected with the play. When Samson deplores his fallen state and blindness the chorus intensifies it by recounting "the change beyond report." After his discussion of "divine disposal" the chorus reminds him that God's ways to man are just and justifiable. Next Samson prays for death, following which the chorus extols patience. After Delila's treachery is made manifest the chorus sings an ode filled with invectives against women.[19] Thus each chorus is vitally and closely connected with what precedes. Milton has obviously given us choruses strikingly like those in Greek tragedy.

6. *The Moving Force Which Brings about the Tragedy.* The ὕβρις idea is distinctly present in Samson though not in the usual manner. The impious act which begets ὕβρις has been committed before the

[18] *The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton*, Cambridge ed.

[19] Mr. Percival in the Introduction to his edition of the *Samson*, p. xv, says the chorus here deserts its function because it utters passionate judgments. The scene which has preceded the chorus seems to me to justify the invectives. Cf. Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* lines 689-700.

play opens, and all we see is the state of the hero after his fall, his character under suffering, and his final relief through death. Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* is a striking analogue of the same type of play.[20] Oedipus, who has unwittingly slain his father and married his mother, defiantly spurns the priest's and prophet's oracles and advice but finally discovers that he is a murderer and participant in incest; upon this discovery he puts out his eyes, leaves the throne, and is driven by his son, Polyneices, and Creon, his brother-in-law, into exile. At this point the *Oedipus at Colonus* opens with Oedipus' daughter, Antigone, leading him to a place where he may sit and rest. The chorus of Elders come upon him, and, when questioned by them, he relates how he came into his present state. Next comes his other daughter, Ismene, out of care for her father, she says, and tells him of the schemes of Creon and his sons. The chorus of Elders demand that Oedipus sacrifice to the god of the grove to secure his safety. Ismene promptly takes upon herself the task of finding the place designated by the Elders and performs the rites, thus aiding her blind father. Then comes Creon with crafty and subtle speeches to win Oedipus to his side because an oracle has said that victory will come to the army which has Oedipus as an ally. When Creon is spurned he seizes Oedipus' two daughters to force Oedipus to come over to his side. Theseus, however, promptly rescues and restores them to their father. Soon comes Polyneices to reconcile himself to his father hoping to gain him as an ally, but is indignantly rejected. Then Oedipus hears the roll of thunder which is the herald of his departure from life. He immediately takes Theseus, bids his daughters farewell, and is led apart into the grove by some unseen guide, where, according to the report of the messenger, he was no more, for the gods took him. If we regard the visit of Ismene as analogous to that of Manoa, the coming of Creon and his insulting taunts mingled with threats analogous to the coming of Harapha, and Polyneices' visit to reconcile himself to his father, to whom he has been traitor, even to the point of exiling him, as parallel to Delila's visit, we have not only the same type of tragedy but one similar in every episode. Upon a divine warning Oedipus departs and is seen no more. Likewise, prompted by some inner voice, Samson goes out

[20] Mr. T. Keightly in *Life, Opinions and Writings of Milton*, p. 322, mentions the parallel between the Delila and Polyneices episode and the departure of the heroes, Oedipus and Samson, at a divine summons. *Prometheus Bound*, as he points out, has episodes parallel to some in the *Samson* and is a tragedy too without action. See his remarks in the Introduction to *Samson Agonistes* edited with notes by I. P. Flęming, London, 1876.

to the place of his destruction and is seen alive no more. Thus we have a direct analogue for the *Samson*. A classical play could easily refer the cause of the hero's downfall to ὕβρις which resulted from some impious act previously committed since many of their plays were presented in trilogies.[21] The *Oedipus at Colonus* might be the third member of a trilogy. We know it was written after the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. In *Oedipus at Colonus* the hero does not come to his death because of any pride or insolence committed during the play. But we know his suffering and wretched condition throughout the play are the result of former pride and arrogance; for we have it displayed in *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Number 19 in the list of tragical subjects given by Masson in Vol. II of his life of Milton, p. 110, reads as follows: "Samson Phosphorus, or Hybristes or Samson Marrying or Ramath-Lechi." Number 20 adds "Dagonalia." Percival says this "may point to a projected trilogy."[22] May not the fact that Samson's misery throughout the play is the result of deeds of pride and arrogance committed prior to the play be considered corroborative evidence of this fact?

Samson tells us explicitly that pride was the cause of his fall in these words:[23]

"Like a petty god
I walked about, admired of all, and dreaded
On hostile ground, none daring my affront—
Then, swollen with pride, into the snare I fell
Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains."

Samson had performed such wonderful feats that his greatness which had been heralded from his birth went abroad. Hence "swollen with pride," he "fell into the snare." To this Greek idea of ὕβρις Milton adds the Hebraic idea of God's foreordained purpose. The inevitability of the hero's having to fulfill his purpose in the world is brought to our attention in the closing lines:

"All is best though we oft doubt
What the unsearchable dispose
Of highest Wisdom brings about,
And ever best found in the close.
Oft He seems to hide his face,
But unexpectedly returns,
And to his faithful champion hath in place

[21] Aeschylus presented plays in trilogies. Sophocles merely presented three plays, with his satirical play, which were not necessarily closely related.

[22] Introduction to *Samson Agonistes*.

[23] Lines 528 ff.



> Bore witness gloriously; whence Gaza mourns,
> And all that band them to resist
> His uncontrollable intent."

Thus Milton has given us a powerful portrayal of the results of ὕβρις and the superior wisdom of God.

In conclusion, we have found that the *Samson* agrees with classical theory and practice (1) in scope of action, (2) in observation of the time and place unities, (3) in kind of plot used, (4) in number of characters employed, (5) in disposition of the chorus, and (6) in making ὕβρις the ultimate cause of the tragedy. We have seen that Milton adds to the ὕβρις idea the intensifying factor that a man must fulfill his mission.

Jonson stated his attitude toward the ancients very clearly when he said:[24] "Nothing is more ridiculous than to make an author a dictator as the schools have done Aristotle. The damage is infinite knowledge received by it; for to many things man should owe but a temporary belief, and suspension of his own judgment, not an absolute resignation of himself or a perpetual captivity. Let Aristotle and the others have their dues; but if we can make further discoveries of truth and fitness than they why are we envied? Let us beware while we strive to add we do not diminish or deface; we may improve but not augment." He would have an author "examine the writings of the ancients and not rest on their sole authority nor take all upon trust from them." Here he recognizes not only the allegiance due the classics but that due English dramatic genius too and shows he is no servile imitator of rules. So we need not be surprised that he should follow the moderns in some particulars.

Milton likewise went beyond any laws and forms to the true spirit of classicism. He became so permeated with the classical spirit and point of view that the spirit found through him true expression in forms practically identical in every detail with the forms used by the classic writers. Hence we do not find him varying from them except in some trivial point of mathematical exactness and minuteness. He says that Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides are the best rule to all who endeavor to write tragedy. His addition of the Hebraic element of God's purpose to that of ὕβρις shows that he was no servile imitator. Even the length of *Samson Agonistes* is about the same as that of Greek tragedy.

P. H. EPPS.

The University of North Carolina.

[24] *Timber.* Gifford's edition of *Jonson's Works*, London, 1816, Vol. IX, p. 226.



VOLUME XIII NUMBER 4

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1916

G. A. HARRER

CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

CONSULES SUFFECTI IN THE YEARS 98 TO 101

In one of the fragments of the *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum* there are listed *consules suffecti* of four successive years.[1] J. Asbach[2] assigned these consuls to the years 101 to 104 inclusive, and his conclusions were supported by Huelsen and followed by Liebenam.[3] Huelsen gives the fragment as follows:

L M]AECIO . [POSTU]MO			
	COS	p.C.	101
. . V]ICIRIO . MARTIALE			
LAT . FUER . III . IDUS . AUG			
. . S]ULPICIO . LUCRETIO . BARBA			
	COS		102
SEN]ECIONE . MEMMIO . AFRO			
LAT . FUER . IIII . K . IUL			
P . . . . . . SATURNI[NO			
	COS		103
]AMILLI[			
LAT . FU]ER . PR . I[			
]O . PROCU[LO			
	COS		104[4]

Recently J. Brunsmid[5] has shown, from the evidence of a new military diploma, that this list belongs to the years 98 to 101. The proof, which is conclusive, consists in the identity of the third pair of consuls in the list with those of the new diploma dated surely in 100. Not only do the *cognomina* agree, but there is also nothing in the consular *fasti* of these four years to prevent the insertion of the four pairs of consuls as the evidence of the diploma directs. The diploma gives the consuls' names in full, T. Pomponius Mamilianus and L. Herennius Saturninus, and the date May 8,[6] and so permits the emending of the list.[7] An additional support to the identification and the dating of

[1] *C.I.L.* I[2] p. 59, h. ed. by Huelsen = *C.I.L.* VI, 2018 = XIV, 2243.

[2] J. Asbach, *Analecta Historica et Epig. Latina*, Bonn, 1878, p. 23ff.

[3] *Fasti Consulares*, Bonn, 1909, pp. 18-19.

[4] See ref. in note 1.

[5] *Messager de La Société Archéologique Croate*. N. S. XI (1910-1911), pp. 23-39 = *L'Année Épigr.* (1912), 128. See especially the summary of Brunsmid's article by L. Cantarelli in *Bulletino Commiss. Archeol. Comun.* XL (1912), pp. 280-281. I have not been able to consult Brunsmid's article at first hand, but have used Cantarelli's summary, and the diploma as published in *A.E.* The editors of *A.E.* erroneously give the date as 103; so too C. L. Cheeseman in *The Year's Work in Classical Studies*, 1912, p. 95.

[6] *A.E.* gives, "VII Idus Mai"; Cantarelli gives, "l' 8 maggio (VIIII Id. Mai)"; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* III, 1, index p. 275, gives May 8.

[7] The order in which the names appear is the reverse of that in the list. The fragmentary letters in line 7 of the list are no doubt ER.

the *Fasti* list in 98-101 is to be found in the fact that the date of the diploma is in the same period of the year as the dates of the *Fasti.* It should be noted also that Huelsen, in his notes on these Fasti inscriptions in the *Corpus*, has called attention to the fact that regularly the names of four or five pairs of consuls are inscribed on one stone. Now there is a stone which undoubtedly names *consules suffecti* of 106-109. By dating our list in 98-101, there are just four pairs of consuls to be accounted for, enough to fill one other stone.

The first pair of consuls in the list, L. Maecius Postumus and Vicirius Martialis, find mention in one other inscription. This inscription[8] also gives "Imp. Nerva Traiano Caes. Aug. Germ. III." Now Trajan was consul for the third time in 100. If, however, the consular number of this inscription is emended to II,[9] then the date will be 98 in agreement with the emended list.

In June 99, as the list should now be read, Barba and Afer were consuls. In August of this year other consuls are known, Barbarus and Faustinus.[10] These established dates prove that the consular terms in 99 cannot have been of four months each, as these known terms would thus overlap, and so, assuming that all terms within a year were of the same number of months at this period, must have been of two or three months. They were then probably of two months each, since terms of three months are extremely rare.[11] Barba and Afer were then probably consuls in May and June only; Barbarus and Faustinus in July and August. Now Mommsen[12] has argued with probability that Ti. Iulius Ferox was *consul suffectus* in 99, and if so certainly not early in that year. Hence his term must have been within the last four months, since the previous four were occupied by others. His term then was for September and October, or for November and December.

The dating of the *consules suffecti* in May 100 in the diploma enables us to settle definitely the question of the beginning of the consulship of Pliny the Younger, and its length.[13] Pliny himself states that

[8] *C.I.L.* II, 2344 emended by Asbach, *op. cit.*, p. 27 ff. See also Huelsen, *C. I. L.* I, p. 59, h. and notes.

[9] Asbach, l. c., emended to IIII.

[10] Diplomas XXX and XXXI; August 14, 99.

[11] Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, Leipzig, 1887, vol. II, p. 86, note 4. Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 5. J. Asbach, *Fasti Consulares* in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 72 (1882), p. 29.

[12] *Ges. Schriften* IV, p. 426, note 1.

[13] Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften* IV, p. 425 and note 5, proved, on the basis of Pliny's statements, that the term was either in July, August, September, or September and October. Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 18 follows him. See too Schanz in *Müller's Hbuch* VII, II, 2 (1913), p. 350. Eugène Allain, *Pline Le Jeune*, Paris, 1901, vol. I, p. 316, favored the term of two months. His statements are based on Mommsen.

Trajan in his third consulship (100 A.D.) extended his term beyond its usual limits and honored two men by making them colleagues of himself, the emperor.[14] Now these two terms, which Trajan and his colleagues served in the first months of 100, cannot have been of three months each, or any longer period, for the new diploma gives still other consuls in May, the fifth month. The terms of Trajan were then of two months each. This fact creates a presumption that the other terms of the year were of two months each. Such is the usual arrangement.[15] If terms of four and two months occur in the same year, the longer terms seem to come first.[16] In this year of 100 furthermore Trajan was honoring, in the consulship for the early months, men of very high standing.[17] It is not likely that younger men of little importance at the time would have been honored by a longer consulship.

But there is further evidence to settle the length of the terms through 100. Trajan and his colleagues occupied the first four months. In May, Mamilianus and Saturninus are known as consuls. Their term then began in May, and must have extended at least through June, since terms of one month are extremely exceptional at any period, and are quite out of the question at this early date.[18] The last six months of 100 remain to be occupied. Now Pliny states that he and his colleague Tertullus were consuls in September of 100.[19] We have inscriptional evidence for the consulship of Aelianus Celer and Sacerdos Iulianus in December.[20] There is in this evidence nothing to prevent the assigning of Pliny and Tertullus to the months July, August, and September, and of Aelianus and Sacerdos to the last three months of the year. We have seen, however, that terms of three months are extremely rare, and that in this particular year it is not likely that longer terms would follow the short terms of two months of the emperor and his colleagues. And can one doubt that Pliny would have informed us in the *Panegyricus*, if his term had been lengthened beyond that of the earlier consuls? In such a situation this negative proof is a strong one. If we divide this six months period by assigning four months, July, August, September, and October to Pliny and Tertullus, and the last two months of the year to

[14] Pliny, *Panegyricus* 61.
[15] J. Asbach, *Zur Gesch. des Consulatus* in *Festschrift Arnold Schäfer*, Bonn, 1882, p. 207.
[16] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, l. c. and note 2.
[17] Pliny, *Panegyricus* 61.
[18] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, l. c. and note 5.
[19] Pliny, *Panegyricus* 92, and 90; *Ep.* V, 14.
[20] *C.I.L.* VI, 451 = Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 3619.

Aelianus and Sacerdos, the objections already made hold good in even greater degree. It is not mathematically possible to assign four months to the last consuls of the year, since Pliny and Tertullus are fixed in September. It is possible mathematically, on the evidence so far given, that Mamilianus and Saturninus held the consulship for the four months, May, June, July, and August; but it is not likely.

One final bit of evidence from Pliny will solve our problem. Pliny mentions, in a letter,[21] Acutius Nerva as one of the *consules designati* early in January 100, along with Cornutus Tertullus, who became Pliny's colleague in the consulship of that year. Now Mommsen has shown that men who were designated as *consules suffecti* early in a year held the consulship in the same year.[22] In particular he

[21] Pliny, *Ep.* II, 12, 2.

[22] Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften* IV, pp. 427 ff.; *Staatsrecht* I, pp. 588 ff. Mommsen claimed besides that all the *consules suffecti* for any year were designated in January of that year. This seems to be true for the early part of the second century; but it did not continue for very long, though Mommsen believed that it did. He noted an exception in the case of Fabius Cilo, *consul suffectus* in 193, consul designate, according to *Vita Commodi* 20, near the end of 192. (*Staatsrecht* I, p. 589, note 6.) There is more and better evidence for a similar state of affairs in the case of others. The earliest instance, which I have found, concerns Attidius Cornelianus, mentioned as consul designate and governor of Arabia in an inscription dated November 24, 150. (Brünnow, *Die Provincia Arabia* III (1909), p. 287). Unless we are willing to assume a term of one month only, and the absence of Cornelianus from Rome while consul, it is not possible to date his consulship in the same year with his designation.

In the year 197 Q. Anicius Faustus, governor of Numidia, was consul designate. (*C.I.L.* VIII 2438. The year is certain not only from the consulship mentioned, but from the titles of Severus). In the year 198 also he was consul designate. (VIII, 2550 and 2551.) In the year 199 he is termed, though still legate in Numidia, "cos. amplissimus." (VIII, 17871. See also 18068 and 2553.) "Cos." is interpreted as "consul"; but even if it were "consularis," which seems to me possible, Faustus would have been consul not earlier than 198, since he was consul designate in 198. Here then we have another instance of a man designated consul in the year previous to his consulship—and possibly more than a year previous. ("Consul amplissimus" is found as early as the middle of the second century, and in the time of Severus. *Digest. Iust.* XLIX, 1, 1, 3; XXXV, 1, 50. *C.I.L.* VI, 32326. But *Ephem. Epig.* IX, p. 563 gives an instance of a governor of Britain apparently called "amplissimus consularis." Certainly this governor had been consul some years earlier. In the case of Faustus note also VIII, 10992, dated 201, in which "cos." = "consularis."—Liebenam, *Fasti* p.26, dates Faustus in 198; Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique*, Paris, 1913, in 199. Neither discusses the evidence. Stout, *Govs. of Moesia*, Princeton, 1911, p. 36, note 73, favors the year 199. With his discussion for the most part I agree).

On several milestones found in Arabia, Furnius Iulianus is mentioned as governor and consul designate during the fourth consulship, and sixteenth and seventeenth tribunician power of Caracalla, that is to say in 213, and probably 214, but possibly the very end of 213. This man was then designated at latest in the year previous to the year in which he must have held the consulship, and possibly more than a year earlier, as in the case of Anicius Faustus. (Brünnow, Arabia III, p. 291.)

These three certain instances are all that I have been able to find; but they, and the instance which Mommsen himself mentioned, are enough to prove conclusively that Mommsen's theory is incorrect regarding the designation of *consules suffecti* beginning with the year 150. From this time *consules suffecti* were evidently designated in the year previous to that of their consulship, and possibly even earlier. (One other inscription possibly furnishes further evidence. *A.E.* (1912), 294 mentions C. Memmius Fidus, governor of Noricum and consul designate on September 19, 191. Of course it is possible that he may have been consul in the last months of that year.) We have no evidence to show at just what time this practise began. Possibly its beginning is to be connected with the beginning of the custom of placing the title "consul designatus" after the name of governors of praetorian rank on non-cursus inscriptions. This title is found, for example, on milestones in Africa and Arabia



mentions the consulship of Acutius Nerva as in 100, and his opinion is generally accepted.[23] In what period of 100 did Nerva hold the consulship? He was evidently not one of the colleagues of Trajan, for they were men of renown, while Nerva was comparatively unknown, and at the beginning of his consular career.[24] He cannot have been identical with any one of the remaining six consuls, whose names are known. Hence his term was distinct from any of the five terms which have been discussed. His term cannot have followed that of Pliny and Tertullus, who are known to have been in office in September, unless we assume a term of one month only for either Nerva or the known consuls in December. Such an assumption is impossible for this period, as we have seen. His term must therefore have preceded that of Pliny. The months through June at least were occupied by other consuls. Therefore Nerva must have been consul in July and August. Terms of two months for all the consuls of 100 are thus proved certain. Pliny and Tertullus of course held the consulship in September and October.[25]

With T. Pomponius Mamilianus, one of the *consules suffecti* in 100, we may with probability identify Mamilianus, friend of Pliny the Younger.[26] Pliny wrote a letter to him when governor of some imperial province.[27] This province may have been Britain, since a T. Pomponius Mamilianus is known from an inscription to have been governor there.[28] This inscription has been referred, from its lettering, to the end of the second century;[29] but F. Haverfield, the latest editor of it, is unwilling to support this dating, and evidently prefers an earlier date, as he refers to a governor of Lycia and Pamphylia about the year 128 as possibly identical with this governor of Britain.[30]

in great numbers. The earliest instance, so far as I have been able to discover, is that of *P. Metilius Secundus, legatus Augusti pro praetore* and *consul designatus* in the reign of Hadrian, the year 123. (*C.I.L.* VIII, 22173.) One may perhaps be inclined to believe that this practise began under Hadrian rather than under Antoninus Pius.

[23] J. Asbach, *Fasti Consulares in Bonner Jahrbücher* 72 (1882), p. 7. v. Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa 1, Sp. 338, No. 2. Bruno Stech, *Senatores Romani*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 69, No. 856. That Nerva was not only designated, but actually held the consulship is shown also by the fact that he was later governor of Germania Inferior. See Stech, l. c., and Liebenam, *Die Legaten*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 197. It may be noted too that remarks of Pliny in the *Panegyricus* (62 and 93) show that the consuls designated actually reached the consulship.

[24] The fact that he later held the governorship in Germania Inferior is a sure indication. See note 23.

[25] Henzen in *Ephem. Epig.* I, p. 195, made it probable that the term of Pliny was of two months, but not certain. See above note 13.

[26] J. Asbach, *Analecta*, p. 31, first made this suggestion.

[27] Pliny, *Ep. IX*, 25.

[28] *C.I.L.* VII, 164. Addenda in *Ephem. Epig.* IX, p. 535 by F. Haverfield.

[29] *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* I, p. 84, and II, p. 326, nos. 92 and 93.

[30] See reference in note 28.

It is just as possible to identify the governor in Britain with Pliny's friend and the consul of 100. It should be noticed that the date of Pliny's letter to Mamilianus, between 106 and 110,[31] agrees very nicely with the time at which Mamilianus would in all probability have held the governorship of Britain, that is, a few years after his consulship in 100.[32]

Of the *consules suffecti* for the year 101, as given in the list of the *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum*, only one name remains, and that only in part. The list gives "]O . PROCU[LO." It is possible to establish almost with certainty both the period of the year to which the consulship belongs, and the identity of this Proculus. Now Henzen proved many years ago that the consular terms for 101 were of three months.[33] Q. Articuleius Paetus was consul first with Trajan, then with Attius Suburanus, during January, February, and March.[34] Other consuls are known for April,[35] who would have continued in office through May and June, if we suppose that all terms in the year were of the same length. In all probability the last three months of the year were occupied by Stella and Marinus.[36] Therefore the term of this Proculus would have been in the period July to September. This term, it is to be noticed, falls in the same time of the year as many of the terms listed in the *Fasti Feriarum Latinarum*.[37]

J. Asbach[38] proposed to identify with this Proculus, C. Iulius Proculus,[39] who certainly was consul at some time in Trajan's reign. Following his dating of the fragment of the *Feriarum*, Asbach of course placed this consulship in 104. Now the correct dating in 101 makes the identification proposed by Asbach impossible, since there is not enough time before 101 for all the offices which C. Iulius Proculus held under Trajan and previous to his consulship. Brunsmid[40] proposed the name of C. Cilnius Proculus, who is mentioned in the new

[31] Schanz in *Müller's HBuch* VII, II, 2, (1913), p. 359 ff.

[32] Several certain instances are known of men who governed Britain after a short interval following their consulship: Agricola, consul in 77, governor the next year and until 85; A. Platorius Nepos, consul in 119, governor in 124; Sex. Minicius Faustinus Severus, consul in 127, governor about 131. See Liebenam, *Die Legaten*, pp. 90, 96, and 97, and *Fasti Consulares*, under the proper years. Notice also Q. Lollius Urbicus, consul about 135, governor in 140. See *Prosop.* II, p. 297, no. 240. *Ephem. Epig.* IX, 1146.

[33] *Ephem. Epig.* I, p. 195.

[34] *C.I.L.* VI, 2074; IX, 1455.

[35] *C.I.L.* VI, 2074 end.

[36] Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften* IV, pp. 455 ff. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 18. O. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, Berlin, 1905, p. 215, note 2.

[37] *C.I.L.* I^2, pp. 58 and 59.

[38] *Analecta*, p. 32.

[39] *C.I.L.* X, 6658 gives the *cursus* of this Proculus.

[40] See note 5 and reference.

military diploma of 100 A.D.; and his suggestion is accepted by Cantarelli.[41] It is however quite impossible that Cilnius Proculus was consul in 101, for he was governor of Moesia Superior in 100, and this position was one held regularly by men of consular rank.[42]

Among the consulars of the period of Trajan there are three, with the cognomen Proculus, about whose careers enough is known to permit the conclusion that one of them may have been the consul of 101.[43] M. Eppuleius Proculus is known to have been consul early in the reign of Trajan, and proconsul of Asia at some time in the same reign.[44] Possibly he was consul in 101. Now there was an established rule that priority of consulship gave priority in the proconsulate of Asia.[45] With this rule in mind we may compare the career of Eppuleius with that of L. Dasumius, with whom he has some points of contact. It is known that Eppuleius was consul before Dasumius.[46] Hence his proconsulship in Asia must have preceded that of Dasumius —proconsul at the end of Trajan's reign. And since the proconsuls in Asia for the last three years of Trajan's reign are known, Eppuleius cannot have been proconsul later than the year 114-115.[47] Very probably he held the office in that year. The consulship, we assume, he held in 101. Compare now his career with that of Ti. Iulius Ferox. Ferox was consul in 99 or 100, and proconsul of Asia in 116-117.[48] Therefore, if Eppuleius were consul in 101, the rule of priority is evidently broken, as he would have been consul after, but proconsul before Ferox. We should rather place his consulship earlier, probably in 98.[49]

Q. Fulvius Gillo Bittius Proculus held the proconsulship of Asia in 115-116, and was therefore consul probably early in Trajan's reign.[50] If however he were the consul of 101, again the rule of priority is broken: Fulvius, proconsul of Asia before Ferox, would have been consul after him.[51]

[41] See note 5 and reference.

[42] Stout, *Govs. of Moesia*, p. XI.

[43] For consulars with the cognomen Proculus see Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, index p. 96; also Stech, *op. cit.* pp. 189 ff.

[44] Groag in Pauly-Wissowa 6, Sp. 260-261.

[45] Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II, p. 251. R. Heberdey, *Die Proconsules Asiae unter Trajan*, in *Jahreshefte des Oesterr. Arch. Institut.* 8 (1905), pp. 231 ff.

[46] Groag in Pauly-Wissowa 4, Sp. 2224. See also Asbach, *Fasti*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 72 (1882), p. 27.

[47] Heberdey, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

[48] Heberdey, *op. cit.*

[49] Heberdey, *op. cit.*

[50] Groag in Pauly-Wissowa 7, Sp. 252.

[51] Heberdey, *op. cit.*

The third possibility is Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus.[52] This man was governor of the praetorian province, Lycia and Pamphylia, possibly under Trajan,[53] and, if so, very probably just before the term of L. Iulius Marinus, who was consul late in 101 or possibly in 102.[54] If Modestus were consul in 101, his *cursus* and that of Marinus would show a similar advance. Modestus may have been governor, however, in Domitian's reign.[55] In that case, assuming that he was consul in 101, the rather long period between this praetorian governorship and the consulship is adequately explained by the fact that he was exiled by Domitian.[56] Now Modestus was proconsul of Asia in 119-120,[57] or possibly 118-119.[58] If then he was consul of 101, the dates of his career conform precisely with the principle of priority. His consulship and proconsulship both follow the known dates of Ti. Iulius Ferox at an interval of two or three years.[59] It seems reasonably certain then that Modestus is the *consul suffectus* of 101.[60]

The following list summarizes the results of this study so far as the dating of consular terms is concerned. In it I have included also, with reference to Liebenam's *Fasti Consulares*, the names of all other consuls, for the years in question, whose terms have not been discussed since they were already known.

NAME	TIME OF CONSULSHIP
Imp. Nerva IIII Imp. Nerva Traianus Caes. II[61]	98 to January 25.
Imp. Traianus II Sex. Iulius Frontinus II[62]	98 in February.

[52] On the name see *I. G. R.* III, 523 and references; also Stech, *op. cit.* p. 67, no. 843.

[53] E. L. Hicks in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* X (1889), pp. 74-75 and references. Liebenam, *Die Legaten*, p. 260.

[54] See above note 36; also Hicks, l. c.; *I.G.R.* III, 554; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 6106.

[55] See note 53.

[56] Pliny, *Ep.* 1, 5, 5 ff.

[57] *Hermes*, 4 (1870), pp. 178 ff. Heberdey, *op. cit.* p. 233, note 6. Stech, *op. cit.*, p. 67, no. 843. See too *C.I.L.* III, 355 and p. 977, which also shows that Modestus was proconsul, and before Avidius Quietus whose term fell in 125-126.

[58] Cornutus Tertullus, who is listed as proconsul of Asia in 118-119, may have been proconsul of Africa. Heberdey, *op. cit.*, p. 233, note 6. *C.I.L.* XIV, 2925.

[59] Heberdey, *op. cit.*

[60] It may be objected that the last cognomen "Modestus," and not "Proculus," should appear on the stone, if Mettius Modestus were the man. Such objection, in the case of names of many elements, has little weight. Notice, for example, the case of L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus. He is listed as L. Catilius Severus when consul. See Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 20; G. A. Harrer, *Studies in Roman Syria*, Princeton, 1915, p. 24. A similar instance is found in Opilius Pedo Apronianus—the year 191. See *A.E.* (1910), 2; (1912), 294; Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[61] Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares*, p. 18.

[62] *op. cit.*

L. Maecius Postumus Vicirius Martialis	98	in August.
A. Cornelius Palma Q. Sosius Senecio[63]	99	January and February.
Sulpicius Lucretius Barba Senecio Memmius Afer	99	May and June.
Q. Fabius Barbarus Iulianus A. Caecilius Faustinus	99	July and August.
Ti. Iulius Ferox (colleague unknown)	99	September and October. or November and December.
Imp. Traianus III Sex. Iulius Frontinus III[64]	100	January and February.
Imp. Traianus III (colleague unknown)	100	March and April.
T. Pomponius Mamilianus L. Herennius Saturninus	100	May and June.
Q. Acutius Nerva (colleague unknown)	100	July and August.
C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus	100	September and October.
L. Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer Ti. Claudius Sacerdos Iulianus	100	November and December.
Imp. Traianus IIII Q. Articuleius Paetus	101	in January.
Q. Articuleius Paetus Sex. Attius Suburanus	101	through March.
Q. Servaeus Innocens M. Maecius Celer[65]	101	April-June.
Trebonius Proculus Mettius Modestus (colleague unknown)	101	July-September.

[63] *op. cit.*
[64] *op. cit.*
[65] *op. cit*

L. Arruntius Stella		
L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex	101	October-December.

G. A. Harrer.

The University of North Carolina.

CLASSICAL NOTES

I. Lucian and the Governor of Cappadocia

In the story of Lucian's relations with Alexander, the false prophet, this statement is made: (*Alexander* 55) *ἐπηγόμην δὲ καὶ στρατιώτας δύο, λογχοφόρον καὶ κοντοφόρον, παρὰ τοῦ ἡγουμένου τῆς Καππαδοκίας, φίλου ὄντος, λαβών, ὡς με παραπέμψειαν ἄχρι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν.* This governor of Cappadocia, in the opinion of W. von Christ, was Arrian, the historian, and Christ uses the passage to show that Lucian and Arrian were acquainted.[1] Such a use of the passage is quite impossible, as can be readily shown. In the first place Arrian's term in Cappadocia ended in the year 137.[2] At that time Lucian was probably under 20 years of age.[3] But the Lucian of this episode was certainly a mature man, not a boy. In the second place it is generally agreed that the heyday of the imposter Alexander was in a period after 150. Riess[4] dates him about 150 to 170. Arrian then is of course not the governor whom Lucian mentions as a friend.[5]

It may, however, be possible to identify this governor if this episode in Lucian's life can be dated a little more definitely within the period 150 to 170. An examination of this sketch of Lucian's, the *Alexander*, with a view to datable incidents, yields the following. A Severianus is mentioned (cap. 27) who, on the advice of Alexander's oracle, so Lucian says, invaded Armenia and was badly defeated. This is an historical event which, we know, took place in 160–161 or perhaps early in 162.[6] Again, Lucian says (cap. 58) that at the instigation of Alexander the name of the city where he lived was changed to Ionopolis. It is known from coins that this change was made in the period 161–169.[7] We are told furthermore (cap. 36) of Alexander's claim that he could cure cases of the plague. This plague began in 166.[8] Again some events are mentioned (cap. 48) which took place at the beginning of Marcus Aurelius' wars with the Germans, late in 166.[9] The dates of these events, which are found mentioned in the various chapters of the sketch, would seem

[1] Müller *H. Buch* VII, II, 2 (1913), p. 583, n. 5; cf. n. 2.
[2] P.—W. 2, 1230 ff. *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* I, 243.
[3] Lucian was born about 120. See Christ, *op. cit.*, p. 550.
[4] P.—W. 1, 1444, no. 70.
[5] See Nissen, *Rh. M.* XLIII (1888), p. 241.
[6] E. Ritterling, *Rh. M.* LIX (1904), p. 186.
[7] Babelon, *R. N.* (1900), p. 15.
[8] Niese in Müller *H. Buch* III, 5. p. 339.
[9] P.—W. 3, 1850.

to indicate that Alexander was especially famous in the sixties of the second century.

Other indications lead to the same conclusion. After relating the affair of Severianus (mentioned above) and some similar incidents, Lucian says that all these happened within the bounds of Asia Minor (cap. 30), and that after that Alexander's fame spread to Rome itself. Too much is not to be expected of Lucian in the way of a chronological order of events; but this at least would seem a clear proof that Alexander became widely known only after 160. It was after 160 then that a certain Rutilianus, at Rome, heard of Alexander, came under his influence, and ultimately married his daughter (cap. 30–35). Just after this follows the mention of the plague of 166, with a pretty clear indication that the order is chronological (cap. 36). The marriage referred to evidently took place between 160 and 166.[10] Lucian tells us furthermore that Rutilianus was a man of 60 at the time (cap. 35), and of experience in many official positions (cap. 30), and that he died at the age of 70.

The information to be derived from an inscription which was put up in honor of Rutilianus agrees very nicely with the evidence from Lucian. This inscription (*C. I. L.* XIV, 3601) proves that Rutilianus had held many official positions, notably the governorship of Moesia in 158–160, or about 166 (cap. 48), and the proconsulship of Asia in 172.[11] This position in Asia, or a similar one in Africa, was regularly the last and most honored office of the senatorial career. It was naturally held by a man of years. From the time of this position, 172, we can figure back to a date not before 162 for the marriage of Rutilianus, since he died about ten years after his marriage. And since the marriage probably took place before 166, as has been shown, his death must have occurred by about the year 176.[12] These figures are obtained without insisting too strictly on the exactness of Lucian's statements about Rutilianus' age.

Now Rutilianus was indirectly concerned in Lucian's encounter with Alexander. After describing how he barely escaped death by the wiles of the faker, Lucian says: (cap. 57) "I even thought of bringing suit against him—but the governor of Bithynia and Pontus,

[10] Fr. Cumont (in *Mem. Cour. par l'Acad. Roy. Belgique* XL (1887), *Alexandre d'Abonotichos*, p. 48 ff.) claims 165 as the date.

[11] Stout, *Govs. of Moesia*, p. 25-26. Rat and Bayet, *Les Curatores Viarum* in *R. E. A.* II (1914), p. 65 ff.

[12] Cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

Avitus (?),[13] begged and prayed me to give it up, for, on account of his regard for Rutilianus, he could not, he said, punish the man even if he caught him in a criminal action." From this statement it is evident that very close relations must have existed between Alexander and Rutilianus. It seems very proper to infer that Rutilianus had married the daughter of Alexander by the time of this episode. Hence the episode is to be dated after 162, in all probability. At all events the date must be after 160, for only after that year did Rutilianus become acquainted with Alexander. Near the end of the sketch we find that Rutilianus was still alive after the death of Alexander (cap. 60). Since Rutilianus himself died about the year 176, it is plain that the episode which we are dating must have occurred considerably earlier than that year. Evidently it is to be dated well within the period 160 to 176.[14] This conclusion agrees very nicely with the evidence first given to show that Alexander was widely known in the sixties, and with the fact, evident throughout the sketch, that Lucian was a mature man at the time.

We are now in a position to solve the problem of the identity of the governor of Cappadocia and friend of Lucian who gave Lucian an escort of soldiers. From about the year 160 to the middle of 175 and even later the list of governors is probably complete. The first is Severianus, who was so badly defeated in Armenia not later than the spring of 162. He can hardly be the man. In the first place his term is too early. In the second place Lucian describes him (cap. 27) as "that fool Gaul," a term hardly applicable to a friend. His successor, in all probability, was Statius Priscus, who successfully continued the war in Armenia in 163 following.[15] This man might very well be Lucian's friend. But it must be noted that his term was taken up by this very serious war, which in fact was the immediate cause of his appointment to Cappadocia. It is hardly possible that he had any time to think of Lucian's convenience, and it is not at all likely that he had any soldiers to spare for an escort especially through Roman territory. His successor may have been

[13] Jacobitz reads Αὔειτος for the MSS *αὐτὸς*. I do not think therefore that my argument can be based on this reading. If it is correct however, we learn that this incident occurred between 161 and 169 probably, for within this period Avitus was governor of Bithynia. (*Dig. Just.* L, 2, 3, 2.) In particular Avitus is known from an inscription to have been governor in 165. See G. Hirschfeld in *Sitzber. der Akad.* (1888), p. 875.

[14] This terminus *ante quem* may be placed a year or two earlier. Lucian mentions (cap. 57) Eupator as king of Bosporos at the time of this incident. This king's reign was over by 174-175 at the latest. See P.—W. 3, 1, 784. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 504. Croiset definitely dates the incident in 164; Cumont, in 167 or 168. See below, n. 17.

[15] Harrer, *Studies in Syria*, p. 33. Stout, *Govs. of Moesia*, p. 27.

C. Iulius Severus.[16] The identification of this man with Lucian's friend is open to the same objections as in the case of Priscus.[17] Very probably P. Martius Verus succeeded Priscus, or possibly Severus, in the latter part of 166, at the close of the war. He remained as governor into the year 175 when he was succeeded by C. Arrius Antoninus.[18] The term of Antoninus is too late to allow any claim on his behalf as Lucian's friend.[19] Martius Verus is then probably the friend of Lucian. Verus was a famous consular of the time of the Antonines. He was twice consul, and while governor of Cappadocia he loyally supported Marcus Aurelius against the uprising of the great general Avidius Cassius. By this identification we gain a new detail in our information about Lucian's life and acquaintances.

II. "Cohors I Flavia Bessorum Quae Est In Macedonia"

Two military diplomas (official records of grants of Roman citizenship with honorable discharge of soldiers) alone make mention of a *Cohors I Flavia Bessorum*. Of these two, one,[20] which is dated in the year 100 A.D., shows the presence of the cohort in Moesia Superior; the other,[21] dated in the year 120, states that a cohort which has exactly the same titles was located in Macedonia. That these diplomas refer to one and the same cohort seems certain. In the first place the identity of all three elements in the titles of the cohorts indicates that the cohorts are identical.[22] In the second

[16] v. Premerstein in *Klio* XIII (1913), p. 89, and n. 3. *C. I. L.* III, 7505.

[17] M. Croiset (*Essai sur—Lucien* (1882), p. 17 ff.) notes that Lucian was at Antioch in 162 or 163, and at Corinth at the end of 164 or early in 165. (This date is derived from information given in *The Way to Write History*, see caps. 5, 14, 17, and 30. The year 166, at the end of the Parthian War, is probably more accurate. P.—W. 3, 1847. Certainly the date must be before the beginning of the Germanic wars, late in 166. See cap. 5, and P.—W. 3, 1850). He concludes that the adventure with Alexander occurred in the interval, probably in 164. By this method of reckoning, a date in 165 or the first half of 166 would be just as possible. If this view of Croisets' is true, then of course we must probably identify Statius Priscus, or possibly Iulius Severus, with Lucian's friend. But, as I have shown there is serious objection to such an identification. Fr. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 51, differing from Croiset, would have it that Lucian made another trip in which he visited Alexander in 167 or 168. This dating seems more probable.

[18] Harrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 and 91.

[19] See n. 14.

[20] *L'Année Épigraphique* (1912), 128. See also *Bulletino della Comm. Archeol. Comun. di Roma* (1912), p. 280. The exact date of the diploma is May 8, 100.

[21] *Comptes Rendus de l' Académie des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* (1909), pp. 130-134. The exact date of the diploma is June 29, 120. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* III, 1, p. 466 in the index, refers to *Cohors I Flavia Bessorum* under nos. 9054 and 9055. These numbers will no doubt present the two military diplomas, but the volume containing them has not yet appeared.

[22] The identity of cohorts whose titles are the same cannot be taken for granted, especially when the titles consist merely of the number and the name of the tribe from which the cohort was originally enrolled. Where three elements of the title are given there is little probability of error in assuming



place the provinces, Moesia Superior and Macedonia, in which these troops were stationed, bordered on one another; and it is quite possible that the cohort had been transferred from Moesia, to which the earlier inscription refers, to Macedonia. Again it is to be noted that the wife of the infantryman in *I Flavia Bessorum*, whose grant of citizenship is recorded in the Macedonian diploma, was a native of Tricornium, which was in Moesia Superior not far from the great military center at Viminacium.[23] Their children are also mentioned in the grant. From these facts one would infer that the soldier had been stationed in Moesia Superior some years before, about the time of the presence of *I Flavia Bessorum* as indicated in the Moesian diploma. The two cohorts are then, in all probability, identical.

A word may be said in regard to the station of this cohort and its history in Moesia Superior. It has been remarked that the wife of the soldier in the Macedonian diploma was a native of Tricornium, near Viminacium, on the Danube. At Tricornium too the Macedonian diploma was discovered.[24] One may surmise that the veteran and his family had returned to the old quarters and had settled in a garrison town close by the regular station of the cohort. The military situation at the time of the Moesian diploma makes it reasonable to suppose that practically all the forces in the province would be stationed on the border. At the end of the first century and the beginning of the second, the task of protecting properly the Danube frontier was no light one, as Moesia was in direct contact with Dacia, the scene of the activities of Decebalus. There is listed in the Moesian diploma of May, 100, in Moesia Superior alone an auxiliary force of 3 alae and 21 cohorts—a force considerably larger than the regular garrison of the province.[25] This force, we may be sure, was being concentrated for the Dacian War which actually began in

---

identity, although even then there may be room for doubt. See G. L. Cheeseman, *The Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, Oxford, 1914, p. 59; and Cichorius in Pauly-Wissowa 4, Sp. 231 ff. and Sp. 285.

[23] Forbiger, *Hbuch Geogr.* 3, 747. There are two diplomas, whose evidence is complete and certain, which show that the locality from which the discharged soldier's wife came was in the province where the troop served. D.XXIII mentions a cohort stationed in Dalmatia, and the wife of a soldier of the cohort as a native of Dalmatia. D.XXXIX gives similiar evidence of the wife of a soldier in an ala stationed in Pannonia Inferior. D.XXXV shows that a Sequanian woman was wife of a soldier in an ala stationed in Raetia.

[24] See ref. in note 2.

[25] D. CIII, of 93 A.D., lists 3 alae and 9 cohorts in Moesia Superior. See also note 10 below. Cheesman, *op. cit.*, p. 155, lists in Moesia Superior, for the reign of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius, an auxiliary force of 1 ala and 7 cohorts. (Cheesman incorrectly accepts, from *L'Année Épigraphique*, 103 as the date of the diploma).

less than a year from the date of the diploma.[26] The *Cohors I Flavia Bessorum* was one unit in this force, and the suggestion lies on the surface that it played a part in the war. There is some evidence to show that the cohort was not stationed in Moesia Superior for very long before the year 100. A diploma,[27] dated in 93, names 3 alae and 9 cohorts, which possibly formed the entire auxiliary army of Moesia Superior.[28] All of these troops without exception are also included in the diploma of 100; but the *Cohors I Flavia Bessorum* is not among them. The absence of its name from the list does not necessarily mean that it was not in Moesia Superior at the time, for Mommsen has shown that the list of troops given in a military diploma is by no means always complete for the province.[29] It seems that, at times, a diploma was issued to a group of auxiliary troops serving with a legion. Even if that were so in the case of the diploma of 93, the diploma of 100 was evidently issued to the same group with additions, one of which was the Bessian cohort. Now an examination of the previous history of the other eleven cohorts in the diploma of 100, which do not appear in that of 93, shows that six of them were in other provinces not many years before.[30] Of these six, two were stationed in Pannonia as late as the year 98.[31] In the case of the remaining five cohorts evidence is lacking. There is no evidence at all however for the presence of any of them in Moesia Superior previous to 100. It seems very possible then, or even probable, that the Bessian cohort was brought into the province between 93 and 100, and perhaps just before the outbreak of the Dacian War. That for some time after 100 it was stationed in the province seems evident.[32]

The evidence that the cohort was located in Macedonia in June, 120, is perfectly definite. It is stated in the diploma: . . . *peditibus qui militaverunt in Coh I Flavia Bessor. quae est in Macedonia sub Octavio Antonino quinque et viginti stipendiis emeritis. . .*[33] This statement is remarkable, for Macedonia was a senatorial pro-

[26] Schiller, *Gesch. der Röm. Kzeit* I, p. 550. v. Domaszewski, *Gesch. der Röm. Kaiser* II, p. 174

[27] D. CIII, Sep. 16, 93. See note 6.

[28] See note 6 for the garrison in the second century.

[29] *C. I. L.* III, p. 2023.

[30] See Cichorius, *op. cit.* Sp. 259 ff. It is interesting to notice that some of these cohorts, brought into Moesia just before the war, were used to garrison Dacia, after sharing doubtless in the subjugation of it.

[31] Cichorius, *op. cit.* Sp. 312 and 317.

[32] See the remarks made above concerning the two diplomas which mention this cohort, and the discharged soldier of the Macedonian diploma.

[33] See ref. in note 2.



vince, and in such provinces no regular troops were stationed. The existing evidence of their presence in other senatorial provinces yields no parallel case. This evidence has been repeatedly studied and needs no repetition here.[34] For the present problem however it may be of some interest to notice that there are three cohorts which have, in addition to the title indicating the land where they were enrolled, the name of *Macedonica* or *Cyrenaica*. These names, according to Cichorius,[35] denote that the cohorts were at one time stationed in the province whose name they bear. The *Cohors II Gallorum Macedonica* is known to have served in 93 and 100 in Moesia Superior, and in Dacia in 110 and later.[36] The title *Macedonica* was evidently received before 93, and it may be that it was received during the period 15 to 44 A.D., when Macedonia was joined with Moesia under imperial governors.[37] The *Cohors I Lusitanorum Cyrenaica* was in Moesia Inferior in 99 and 105 and later.[38] The *Cohors II Hispanorum Scutata Cyrenaica* was in Dacia in the reign of Antoninus Pius.[39] Crete and Cyrene formed always, so far as we know, a senatorial province. Under what conditions and during what times these cohorts served there we have no means of knowing.[40] It is well known that in Africa during the early part of the first century there were troops under the senatorial governor; but this situation has always been considered unique and was discontinued long before the period in which the Macedonian diploma falls.[41] Excluding the exceptional case of the troops in Africa, and the uncertain matter of the three cohorts which have been discussed, *Cohors I Flavia Bessorum* is the only body of regular troops known to have been stationed in a senatorial province. The possibility that Macedonia was at that time an imperial province naturally suggests itself.

It is interesting to make a comparison of the form of the unique Macedonian diploma with that of the other diplomas, all of which (there are considerably over 100) deal with troops commanded by imperial officials. The Macedonian diploma is found to be regular

[34] Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, 3rd ed.. II, p. 263 ff., C. Halgan, *De L'Administration des Provinces Senatoriales*, Paris, 1898, p. 259 ff., Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* II, p. 534 ff., Cichorius, *op. cit*. Sp. 314, on *Cohors Maritima*; Sp. 260, on *Cohors VII Breucorum* in Cyprus.

[35] *Op. cit.* Sp. 233, 2. Cheesman, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

[36] Cichorius, *op. cit.* Sp. 288.

[37] Stout, *Govs. of Moesia*, Princeton, 1911, pp. 3 and 7.

[38] Cheesman, *op. cit.*, p. 156. Cichorius, *op. cit.* Sp. 312.

[39] Cichorius, *op. cit.* Sp. 299.

[40] Halgan, *op. cit.*, p. 277, claims that the legion III Cyrenaica was once stationed in the province. v. Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 176, lists it in Egypt.

[41] Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine d'Afrique*, Paris, 1913, I, p. 122.

in all respects. The cohort served *in Macedonia sub Octavio Antonino.* In this form regularly the diplomas state the name of the imperial governor.[42] But it would be indeed extraordinary, at the time at which the diploma is dated, the reign of Hadrian, to find an official document listing an imperial cohort as under the command of (*sub*) a proconsul of a senatorial province.[43] From this consideration, and from the fact that the diploma is in every respect an imperial diploma in form, it is hard to escape the conclusion that Octavius Antoninus was an imperial governor.[44] Macedonia had apparently been placed temporarily under the emperor's direct control. A good precedent, in case the emperor wanted a precedent, could have been found in the history of Macedonia itself under the Romans.[45] Along with Achaia it formed a part of the province of Moesia from 15 to 44 A.D.[46] From the form of the diploma, which was issued to the one cohort only, it does not seem likely that Macedonia was joined with another province at this time. If it had been under the Moesian governor's supervision, any diploma issued would have listed very probably a number of cohorts. In fact the two other diplomas, which only mention one single cohort, refer to provinces where one cohort alone was stationed.[47] It is true, to be sure, that the cohort in Macedonia was drawn from the forces of Moesia Superior; but that fact cannot create a presumption that Macedonia was under the control of Moesia Superior, for of the three imperial provinces, which bordered on Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia Superior, and Dalmatia, Moesia Superior alone could spare a cohort without very materially weakening its forces.[48] It is unfortunate that nothing further is

[42] The possibility that the phrase *sub Octavio Antonino* mentions the immediate cohort commander and not the governor is positively excluded by the fact that the name of the cohort commander is given near the end of the diploma in the usual form. There are two other diplomas issued to a single cohort which was the entire military force of the particular province. D.LXXVI, of the year 178, mentions the cohort *quae est Lyciae Pamphyliae sub Licinio Prisco leg. Iulio Festo tribuno.* A diploma published in *Rev. Etudes Anciennes* XVI (1914), pp. 290-295, dated in 192, mentions the cohort *quae est Lugduni sub Numisio Clemente tribuno.* These two differ from each other a little, and from the regular form. It does not seem that any solution for the problem on hand can be drawn from these differences.

[43] Of course the case of proconsular Africa in the first half of the first century cannot be used as a parallel case for this period. See above, and notes 15 and 22.

[44] Stech, *Senatores Romani*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 114, simply lists Octavius Antoninus as a proconsul *ut videtur* of Macedonia; so Dessau, *op. cit.* III, 1, index, p. 402. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten*, Berlin, 1905, p. 55, n. 4, mentions a Terentius Gentianus, *censitor* of Macedonia in Hadrian's reign, as the first example of an imperial *censitor* in a senatorial province. Possibly there is rather evidence here that Macedonia was imperial at some time under Hadrian.

[45] Many cases are known of the temporary transference of a province from senatorial to imperial government. Pontus and Bithynia, under Pliny in Trajan's reign, is a well-known case.

[46] See above, and note 18.

[47] See above note 23, and references.

[48] Cheesman, *op. cit.*, p. 155, lists 3 cohorts in Dalmatia, but no legion, while in Moesia Superior there were 7 cohorts and 2 legions. There is no evidence for any force in Thrace.



known about the career of Octavius Antoninus, whose *cursus honorum* would possibly clear up this point.

We know nothing of the conditions which caused this change in Macedonia from senatorial to imperial government. There were many disturbances in many parts of the empire at the end of Trajan's reign and the beginning of Hadrian's. Dangerous revolts and foreign troubles had to be settled.[49] In 117–118 Hadrian came in person to this region where, in Dacia and the Pannonias, he placed Marcius Turbo in extraordinary command.[50] Possibly he found reason at this time to alter temporarily the government of Macedonia.[51] Direct evidence shows merely that around the year 115[52] there was proconsular government in Macedonia, and again sometime in the reign of Hadrian.[53]

III. A Note on Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho LXXVIII, 10

Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho cap. LXXVIII, 10 reads: *ὅτι δὲ Δαμασκὸς τῆς ἀρραβικῆς γῆς ἦν καὶ ἔστιν, εἰ καὶ νῦν προσνενέμηται τῇ Συροφοινίκῃ λεγομένῃ, οὐδ' ὑμῶν τινες ἀρνήσασθαι δύνανται.* The composition of the Dialogue is assigned by scholars to a period between 155 and 161 A.D., or at the latest 165–167, the time of the death of Justin,[54] and its dramatic date is about the year 135;[55] but the province of Syrophoenicia or Syria Phoenice, in which Damascus was situated, was not in existence before the year 194.[56] The Dialogue's assignment of Damascus to Syrophoenicia will therefore bear examination.

One suggestion only has been advanced in explanation of this apparent anachronism. Kuhn[57] and Marquardt[58] state that Syro-

[49] *Vita Hadriani*, 5-7.

[50] Schiller, *op. cit.* I, p. 610 ff. v. Premerstein, *Das Attentat der Konsulare auf Hadrian*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 17 ff.

[51] If stories of Apuleius and Lucian represent true conditions at all, at about this time parts of Macedonia were infested with robber bands. Possibly they became so large that they were a real menace to the province, and caused its transference to imperial control to root them out. See Lucian, *Asinus* 16 ff., and 26; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* III, 28 ff., and VI, 25.

[52] *C. I. L.* III, 2830; cf. III, II, p. LIX. The *cursus honorum* given in this inscription mentions the quaestorship of Macedonia for around the year 115. Dessau 1054 also shows Macedonia under senatorial rule about 115.

[53] *C. I. L.* III, 586 gives the name of a proconsul of Macedonia in the reign of Hadrian. Unfortunately there is no means for dating the term more exactly.

[54] G. Archambault, *Justin Dialogue avec Tryphon* vol. I, introd. p. LXXXIV. Christ, *Gk. Lit.* in Müller *H. Buch* vol. VII, II, 2, p. 1028.

[55] Dialogue, cap. I. A. Harnack, *Judentum und Judenchristentum in Justins Dialog mit Trypho, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Altchristlichen Literatur* XXXIX (1913), p. 53.

[56] On date of formation of province see Marq. *St. V.* I, p. 424. Harrer, *Studies in Syria*, p. 87 ff.

[57] *Verfassung* II, p. 190, n. 1583.

[58] *St. V.* I, p. 423, n. 5.

phoenicia as a geographical term with no political significance, had been extended to include the region of Damascus by the time the Dialogue was written. No such suggestion would ever have been made if this passage was not in the Dialogue. There is no other evidence at all to support it. On the contrary there is good evidence against it. Strabo,[59] an important geographer of the time of Augustus, assigns Damascus to Syria Coele. Pomponius Mela,[60] of the first century A.D., mentions Damascene as a separate region of Syria, along with Coele, Phoenice, and others. Pliny, the Elder,[61] similarly speaks of Damascena among the regions of Syria. In another passage[62] he mentions Damascus as a city of the Decapolis of Syria. It is especially noteworthy that Ptolemaeus,[63] who was a contemporary of Justin Martyr, in his great work on geography lists Damascus as a city of Syria Coele. Apart from this evidence entirely it does not seem probable that the term Phoenice would be extended from the coast region so far over the original Syria Coele[64] to a region separated from it by two mountain ranges.

The difficulty may be explained in another way if we assume that Justin was mistaken in his geography, and assigned Damascus to the old coast region of Phoenice, which may well have had the compound name Syrophoenicia. In fact it is found in adjectival form in Mark VII, 26.[65] This explanation however can hardly be correct. Justin was a highly educated man, and as he was besides a native of a neighboring region, Samaria, it is not likely that he made such an error. Damascus was a well-known city, and of its situation Justin evidently knew something in claiming it as a city of Arabia.

Again, the anachronism would be explained if it could be shown that the Dialogue was not written by Justin, but by some other after the formation of the province of Syria Phoenice in 194. The suggestion that the Dialogue is not Justin's has been put forward by G. Krüger,[66] on the ground that Justin in his Apology does not seem to have had as complete a text before him, in quoting a passage of Genesis, as the author of the Dialogue had. This explanation

[59] XVI, 2, 20-22.
[60] I, 11.
[61] *N. H.* V, 66.
[62] V, 74.
[63] V, 15.
[64] Joseph. *Ant.* XIV, 3.
[65] Cf. *Acts* XXI, 2 and 3 where Syria and Phoenicia are used interchangeably of the coast region; Lucian, *Deorum concilium* 4; Juvenal, *Sat.* VIII, 159–160; Lucilius l. 497 ed. Fr. Marx.
[66] *Zschr. für d. N. T. Wissenschaft* VII (1906), p. 138–139.

however can hardly be accepted in the face of good evidence to the contrary. In cap. CXX of the Dialogue, the author cites Justin's Apology in a way that shows plainly that it is his own work. Eusebius[67] mentions the Dialogue among the works of Justin, and modern scholarship has found no reason to doubt it.[68]

The problem is more simply and naturally solved by supposing that the particular statement was not written by Justin, as it now stands in the Dialogue, rather than that the whole work is of different authorship. This explanation in fact alone remains as possible, if the others are now all shown to be untenable. The manuscripts do not give much help. There are but two of them, one a copy of the other, and the older one written in 1364.[69] For this present problem it is of interest to note that the latest editor of the Dialogue, G. Archambault, states that the text is to be emended only by conjectures based in part on historical probabilities.[70]

Now it is possible to show with a fair degree of probability how this textual error could have crept in. A section of Tertullian *Adv. Marc.* III, 13, which was written soon after 207 A.D.,[71] contains the statement—*et Damascus Arabiae retro deputabatur, antequam transcripta esset in Syrophoenicen ex distinctione Syriarum.*[72] The section in which this passage is found is based on Justin's Dialogue;[73] but it cannot be claimed that this passage is a copy in its entirety. The statement that Damascus "was transferred to Syrophoenicia on the division of the Syrias" simply notes an historical event which took place some fifteen years before the date of Tertullian's work; but it is not based on Justin, and could not be, for the province was divided long after Justin's death. It is quite possible however that some one, studying the subject presented in both writers, jotted down in Justin a marginal note from Tertullian's statement. When such a note might have been written it is hard to tell. It may be suggested that if the *νῦν* in the passage of the Dialogue could be read as part of the note it would seem very probable that it was written in Roman times before the rearrangement of the provinces in the fourth century. But this is uncertain, and of little importance

[67] *H. E.* IV, 18, 6.
[68] New Schaff-Herzog *Encyclopedia* VI, p. 282. Christ, *op. cit.*, p. 1030.
[69] Archamb. introd. p. XIV ff.
[70] Archamb. introd. p. XXXVIII.
[71] Schanz, *Rom. Lit.* in Müller *H. Buch* VIII, 3, p. 324.
[72] The passage is repeated in *Adv. Judaeos* cap. IX.
[73] Archamb. introd. p. LXII. Otto, *Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryphone*, vol. I, 2, p. 282, n. 23; and p. 596.



to the problem. The condition of the older of the two manuscripts of the Dialogue puts no difficulty in the way of believing that the note crept in from margin to text. It is considered a carelessly made copy of a manuscript which was itself poor.[74]

As a reading of the phrase of Justin in question I would suggest: *ἐι καὶ νῦν προσνενέμηται τῇ Συρίᾳ λεγομένῃ.*

The present of the participle *λεγομένῃ*—*quae vocatur*, in Latin[75]—in the text looks suspicious. It is not essential to the passage. It is the kind of word a reader might have used in a marginal note. The Justin might have read simply *τῇ Συρίᾳ* in explanation of which a reader could easily have added from his Tertullian, *τῇ Συροφοινίκῃ λεγομένῃ*. On the other hand Justin could have used it to emphasize his point that the land in which Damascus lay was really in Arabia. That land was now, under the Romans, merely called Syria. The possibility of this explanation makes me hestitate to remove the *λεγομένῃ*.

G. A. Harrer.

The University of North Carolina.

[74] Archamb. introd. p. XXXVI.
[75] Kühner, *Gramm. Gk. Spr.* II, 1, p. 271, sect. 404.

Studies in Philology

A Quarterly Journal Published Under the
Direction of the Philological Club
of the University of North
Carolina

VOLUME XIII NUMBER 1
January, 1916



CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY is published during the months of January, April, July, and October.

The subscription price is $1.50 per year; single numbers may be had for fifty cents.

The editorial committee is composed of Professor Edwin Greenlaw (Managing Editor), Professor George Howe, and Professor W. M. Dey.

Entered as second-class matter February 2, 1915, at the postoffice at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

The Collegiate Press
George Banta Publishing Company
Menasha, Wisconsin

Studies in Philology

A Quarterly Journal Published Under the Direction of the Philological Club of the University of North Carolina

VOLUME XIII NUMBER 4
October, 1916



CHAPEL HILL
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY is published during the months of January, April, July, and October.

The subscription price is $1.50 per year; single numbers may be had for fifty cents.

The editorial committee is composed of Professor Edwin Greenlaw (Managing Editor), Professor George Howe, and Professor W. M. Dey.

Entered as second-class matter February 2, 1915, at the postoffice at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

The Collegiate Press
GEORGE BANTA PUBLISHING COMPANY
MENASHA, WISCONSIN

STUDIES IN PHILOLOGY

VOL. I. Chaucer's Relative Constructions. By Louis Round Wilson.

VOL. II. Studies in the Syntax of the King James Version. By James Moses Grainger.

VOL. III. The Influence of E. T. A. Hoffman on the Tales of Edgar Allan Poe. By Palmer Cobb.

VOL. IV. Conjunction+Participle Group in English. By Orestes P. Rhyne.
The Dramatic Monologue. By Claud Howard.

VOL. V. Imprecation as a Means of Emphasis in the Old French *Chansons de Geste*. By Oliver Towles.
An Example of Secondary Ablaut in the Modern English Weak Verb. By James Finch Royster.
Hebbel's *Julia* a Forerunner of the Modern Drama. By Palmer Cobb.

VOL. VI. A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments. Part I.—Text and Notes. Edited by James Finch Royster.

VOL. VII. Nature Similes in Catullus. By George Howe.
῞ΟΠΩΣ With ἄν in Object Clauses. By Charles W. Bain.

VOL. VIII. A Middle English Treatise on the Ten Commandments. Part II. Introduction. Edited by James Finch Royster.

VOL. IX. The French Inchoative Suffix *-iss* and the French *-ir* Conjugation in Middle English. By John Manning Booker.

VOL. X. The Demonstrative pronoun in Sophocles. Part I. By Charles W. Bain.
Recent Criticism of Latin Literature. By George Howe.

VOL. XI. The Shepheards Calender II. Edwin Greenlaw.
The Celtic Origin of the Lay of Yonec. By Tom Peete Cross.
A Note on Phormio. By George Howe.
Authorship and Interpretation of the ᾿ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ ῾ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ. By Wilbur High Royster.

VOL. XII, 1. Wine, Beere, Ale, and Tobacco, a Seventeenth Century Interlude. By James Holly Hanford.
2. The Characters of Terence. By G. Kenneth G. Henry.
3. The "Act Time" in Elizabethan Theatres. By Thornton Shirley Graves.
4. The Latin Prefix *Pro-* in French. By W. M. Dey.





